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Moving toward the 1970's, how can the United States best meet its needs for defense and social welfare? In the last of our three issues on these questions, seven articles evaluate the nation's needs and the choices it faces. Setting these problems in perspective, our introductory author advocates "A properly organized and administered program of national service. . . ."

National Needs and National Service

BY DONALD J. EBERLY

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ONLY A FEW DECADES ago the average American spent most of his time producing or earning money to buy his basic needs for food, clothing and shelter. With the law of supply and demand operating to fill these needs, the economic system was in balance.

In the second half of the Twentieth Century, with increases in productivity and the large-scale introduction of automation, a far smaller share of the national effort is required to meet the basic needs of survival. Americans have established within the borders of the United States a society in which life—the first of the unalienable rights set forth in the Declaration of Independence—is fairly well assured. What Americans seek now are liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all. Operationally, these goals translate into such elements as education, good health, clean air and water, personal safety, meaningful occupations and enjoyable leisure-time activities.

Yet somehow the "law" of supply and demand for social services is not being obeyed.

Millions of five- and six-year-old children are going to school eager to learn and to become personally involved with someone they can respect, but before long many of them come to feel regarded more as numbers than persons. Because of the inadequacy of medical care available in the cities' ghettos and in rural areas, the United States has fallen to seventeenth place in infant mortality rates. Clearly, millions of willing hands and hearts and minds are needed and millions could become available. Society's demand and supply equation *could be* balanced, if some national service program were developed to enlist the nation's youth.

Such a program of national service has been defined as giving an opportunity to "each young person to serve his country in a manner consistent with the needs of the nation—recognizing national defense as the first priority—and consistent with the education and interests of those participating, without infringing on the personal or economic welfare of others but contributing to the liberty and well-being of all."¹ As such, the concept of national service would embrace both military and nonmilitary service—although some advocates would administer nonmilitary ac-

¹ Donald J. Eberly (ed.), *A Profile of National Service* (Washington, D.C.: National Service Secretariat, 1966), p. 3.

tivities separately from the military while others would link them in various ways. Some advocates urge compulsory national service for all; some support compulsory service for all young men; some believe that a national service program should be voluntary.

Much has been written about the qualitative aspects of a national service program: its value as an instrument to accomplish needed tasks in such fields as health, education and conservation; its value as experiential education for national service participants; its contribution to the social awareness, choice of career decisions and perspectives on life for each person who serves; and its potential for fulfilling the individual's sense of responsibility to serve his country and his fellow man. (These aspects will be discussed in the articles that follow.)

Less attention has been paid to the quantitative aspects of national service. How many real jobs can be identified? There would be little residual value in a national service program that consisted largely of make-work assignments. Given a sufficient demand for young people to serve, how many would be participating at any one time in a program of compulsory service? Of voluntary service? How should we go about organizing national service? And finally, how much would it cost?

In order to set the dimensions of national service into context, we shall first examine the pertinent facts about major federally funded service-learning programs.

There is not enough room to describe all the programs that might be expected to receive national service participants. (See Table II.) Among the federal programs omitted from Table II are the Manpower Development Training Program, the Teacher Corps, the Head Start program, and Upward Bound. Even more important to consideration of national service are the hundreds of thousands of voluntary agencies, churches, schools, hospitals, libraries, conservation units and municipal governments that could receive and use national service participants.

When the Peace Corps was proposed in 1960 by Senators Hubert H. Humphrey and

John F. Kennedy, both recommended it as a three-year program that would classify its participants as fulfilling peacetime military obligations. The Peace Corps now operates in 57 nations and offers excellent opportunities for service, informal learning and cross-cultural experiences. There is no statutory military deferment or exemption for Peace Corps volunteers. In practice, a few of the nation's 4,000 draft boards conscript volunteers while in overseas Peace Corps service; most boards defer volunteers in service; and some of them never draft returned Peace Corps men.

The Job Corps stresses formal learning. Cross-cultural experiences are few, since enrollment is limited to the financially and educationally poor. The Job Corps Conservation Centers have a formal service dimension and have performed some \$32,000,000 worth of conservation work since the Corps began. Participants at all centers also give volunteer service to neighboring communities.

Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) often called the domestic Peace Corps, stresses service, cross-cultural living and informal learning in reference to formal education. VISTA had its origin in a study initiated in 1962 by President John F. Kennedy, "Information on a Proposed National Service Program."

The Neighborhood Youth Corps is primarily a work-experience program. It has a small element of formal education and little opportunity for cross-cultural enrichment because its participants live at home.

The College Work-Study Program is designed to help needy students attend college. By definition, then, it has a strong element of formal education and offers opportunity for—though no guarantee of—cross-cultural experiences. From the national service viewpoint, its major drawback is that it gives no encouragement to service activities like tutoring slum children in preference to jobs like washing dishes in the college cafeteria.

Before getting into statistics on new program possibilities, a distinction must be drawn between job openings and national needs. An ordinary survey of schools, hospitals and

social service agencies would reveal few actual openings that could be filled by young people in a program of national service. Such agencies have fallen into the habit of understating their real needs because decades of experience have taught them that the persons who allocate budgets allow only for the most critical requirements. Thus, school administrators ask for enough funds to supply one teacher for every 25 to 30 pupils although it is generally recognized that in many teaching situations a ratio of one teacher for every 10 to 15 pupils might be far more effective.

In order to measure real needs, a new approach to jobs and needs was followed by a presidential commission in 1965 and its survey revealed a need for an additional 5,300,000 persons in socially-useful jobs which could be filled by persons with a minimum of preentry skill and training. The commission estimated a new job potential of 1,100,000 in education, 1,200,000 in health, 1,300,000 in beautification, 700,000 in welfare and home care, 350,000 in public protection and 650,000 in urban renewal and sanitation.²

In making this kind of survey, it is critically important to pay close attention to job definitions. As a rule, a teacher's job has been regarded as so complex and demanding as to require a master's degree. Yet, when a teacher's daily routine is examined, it is clear that while a few activities require a master's degree, other tasks can be performed very well by a person with a junior college background; some tasks can be performed as well by a high school graduate, and a few can be performed even by a high school student.

In fact, sometimes several lesser qualified persons can handle a task more effectively than the teacher. Much of a teacher's time is directed to the learning needs of one individual at a time in a class of some 30 stu-

dents. The time of the remaining 29 students is often wasted. If there were more teacher's aides or tutors to work occasionally with groups of three or four and sometimes with only one, the teaching process would be more efficient and children would get a better education.

Comparable analyses can be made in such fields as health, conservation, and urban renewal.

The President's commission survey showing that 5 million additional persons are needed to undertake socially-useful work is misleading if one is seeking the number of positions that could be filled tomorrow or the day after. The survey assumes that every school superintendent, every principal and most teachers would welcome teacher's aides, would establish the conditions under which they would serve, and would provide for such matters as training, supervision, office space and housing. The same holds true for hospital directors, conservation officials, local government leaders, and so on. Hence, the survey is a useful indicator of the socially-desirable and useful jobs that could be available, with planning, in five to ten years. How many such jobs are available now? What are the nation's available human resources for a program of national service?

In late 1966, two surveys were made to estimate the number of participants in a national service program that could be placed within a few months. With the help of the District of Columbia Health and Welfare Council, the National Service Secretariat found openings for some 1300 national service participants in the Washington, D.C., area.³ The National League of Cities surveyed Atlanta, Dayton, Detroit, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Phoenix and Tacoma and identified openings for some 12,000 participants.⁴ Making allowance for only partial returns in both surveys, each survey found that for every 1,000 people, one national service participant could be placed in a useful service activity within a few months. Applied nation-wide, the two surveys suggest an immediate potential of 200,000 positions.

² Report of the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress, *Technology and the American Economy* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February, 1966), Volume I, p. 36.

³ Donald J. Eberly (ed.), *National Service* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1968), Appendix A.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Appendix B.

WHAT ARE THE HUMAN RESOURCES?

The number of American citizens presently 18 years of age is about 3,500,000, equally divided between male and female. Barring major catastrophes, that number will increase gradually until 1976, when it will begin to level off for the next several years at about 4,300,000. In 1966, the Defense Department reported that the percentage of men age 26 needed for service would decrease gradually due to the expanding population base, and would fall from 46 per cent in 1966 to 42 per cent in 1974, assuming a troop strength of 3,000,000.⁵ The number of women in the armed forces is presently 1 per cent of the total and, in spite of planned increases in some branches, is not expected to exceed 2 per cent in the foreseeable future.

Accepting these figures and projections, approximately 750,000 of today's 18-year-old men (1976's 26-year-olds) will be needed by the armed forces. They would still be eligible to undertake nonmilitary service thereafter, but probably few would do so if they had already given a period of service to their country. Generous discharge benefits and

definitely formulated plans for marriage, career and higher education would also dissuade many veterans from joining a national service program.

That leaves us with 1,000,000 18-year-old men and 1,750,000 18-year-old women. (As indicated earlier, about 10 per cent of each total group would be expected to fail physical or mental tests.) It is hard to know how to treat the statistic that 26 per cent of women aged 18-19 are married, widowed, divorced or separated, since the prospect of a period of national service could have the effect of delaying marriage for young women who wanted to get involved with the outside world before starting to raise a family. On the other hand, married women could enter national service if they served with their husbands and had no children. For the moment let us assume that, for reasons of marriage and childbirth, 26 per cent of the women would not enter national service.

There are two more major factors affecting the entry of women into a national service program. As they would presumably not be subject to the draft, they would not have to choose between the forms of service. On the other hand, surveys suggest that women are more inclined toward the kinds of activities included in national service. A 1966 Gallup survey asked how many college students had an interest in working in the VISTA program. Seventy-one per cent of the women said "yes" compared to 41 per cent of the men.⁶ If 71 per cent of the eligible women volunteered for national service, that would be 800,000, just over half the total of 1,750,000. Similarly, 41 per cent of all 18-year old men would total about 700,000.

It follows from the above figures that a large-scale voluntary national service program, after the initial build-up period, could be expected to attract up to 1,500,000 persons in the 18-year-old group, or 43 per cent of the youthful population. If they served for two years, the total participation at any one time could be about 3,000,000. By 1976, the participation level might rise to about 3,700,000.⁷

⁵ Statement of Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) before the House Committee on Armed Services. *Report on Department of Defense Study of the Draft*, June 30, 1966, p. 5. (Also p. 9926 of House Committee on Armed Services documents for 89th Congress.)

⁶ The Gallup Organization, Inc., *Attitudes of College Students Toward VISTA* (Princeton: Gallup, 1967), p. 9.

⁷ In comparison with the plans for a voluntary program, a compulsory service program for all youth, exempting only that 10 per cent physically or mentally unqualified, would have an appropriate current enrollment of 18-year olds as follows:

	Male	Female
Military service	750,000	15,000
Nonmilitary service	825,000	1,560,000
Total	1,575,000	1,575,000

Thus, the number of persons in nonmilitary service under a compulsory program would total some 2,385,000. Assuming a two-year enlistment, the total participation in nonmilitary service would then approximate 5 million as compared with about 3 million under a large-scale program of voluntary national service. Hence, the number of persons available to tackle civilian service activities is of the same order of magnitude as the needs of society. For further discussion of compulsory service see articles by Margaret Mead and Edward Hall in this issue.

A NATIONAL SERVICE MODEL

A voluntary national service program could be subsidized by a National Service Foundation that would underwrite subsistence allowances for up to three years for young people serving in approved activities. These activities would be primarily in the fields of education, health and conservation and would be approved by an advisory board composed of public officials and private citizens. Among the activities that would be approved by the board are work within certain federal programs, such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, and Job Corps Conservation Centers, and state programs like the Commonwealth Service Corps in Massachusetts.

Municipal service in local schools, libraries, hospitals or the departments of sanitation and public health, and work with voluntary non-profit organizations such as the Red Cross, Girl Scouts and YMCA would all qualify as national service activities. Church-sponsored projects would receive approval so long as participants served their fellow man without proselytizing him.

In this model, national service participants would be between the ages of 18 and 24, inclusive. The main entry standard would be willingness to serve. Minimum mental and health standards would have to be met, but they would be lower than those of the Armed Forces, which reject three out of every 10 young men. The rejection rate in this type of voluntary national service program would be one in 10.

Under this plan, entry into national service would not be forced; it would be accomplished by means of a contract between the young person and the foundation. The participant would agree to serve for a minimum of one year. He might, if he wished, sign up only on condition that he work in a certain field, such as tutoring or mental health. But if he insisted on specifying the place where he would serve and the agency that would supervise him, it is less likely that the foundation would accept him.

For its part, the foundation would be responsible for informing the participant about types of openings, training and testing him

and finally assigning him to an appropriate service activity. The foundation would provide needed transportation, clothing, medical care and a subsistence allowance. The agency to whom the participant would report would be responsible for proper housing, on-the-job training and supervision, while the foundation would make periodic checks to ensure that both the agency and the participant were living up to their contractual responsibilities.

For each year of completed service, the participant would become entitled to two years of further education. For example, a high school graduate who went into national service for three years would be entitled to six years of college or university education. No one receiving support from the foundation would be exempt from military service.

HOW MUCH WOULD IT COST?

The National Service Secretariat has estimated the annual expenditures for each national service participant at \$4,000. (See Table I). The purpose of the allowance is to make it financially possible for all young people to participate in national service. Thus, in setting allowances, the foundation would take into account the cost of living locally—including whether housing and food were being provided by local hospitality—and the recommendations of the sponsoring agency.

In order to encourage local initiative and minimize federal control, foundation support would be limited to underwriting. Some agencies would assume full fiscal responsibility for the national service participant and would utilize the foundation resources only to find participants and to provide basic training.

Others would share financial responsibility with the foundation. Agencies that were too poor to pay allowances would be asked to provide housing or some other assistance as an earnest of their participation in national service.

Like the GI Bill of Rights, national service in the long run should be viewed more as an investment than an expense. Because of

participation in national service, some young people would be off the relief rolls or out of jail, not only during their participation in national service but, because of their experiences, for a full lifetime. Others would become inspired to continue their formal education and become more productive members of the economy. These gains would be measurable in terms of dollars and cents and would supplement the intangible rewards of making more interesting career choices and of helping someone in need.

A CRASH PROGRAM OR A FIRM FOUNDATION?

The earlier a national service program were instituted, the easier it would be to build it gradually on a firm foundation, avoiding the pitfalls of a crash program. Of course, a crash program could be instituted, like President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps, established in 1933. Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4 of that year, the C.C.C. Bill became law on March 31 and three months later there were 274,375 young men enrolled in C.C.C. camps.⁸ Although the C.C.C. was one of the most popular New Deal programs, it suffered from lack of diversity and never developed a strong educational dimension.

In 1966, the National Service Secretariat recommended to the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service that national service take effect in 1967 and build up to an enrollment of half a million by 1970, in these steps:⁹

1968	50,000
1969	160,000
1970	500,000

Regardless of the year it started this three-year period would be a time of growth and experimentation. Schools, health units, conservation agencies, municipal governments and voluntary agencies could be expected to

sponsor the great majority of service activities. There would be room, however, for individual projects, where the project formulator and sponsoring agency would be none other than the national service participant. Various types of links would be established with national service programs in Chile, Iran, Israel, the Philippines, Tanzania, and other countries.¹⁰

While the operation and effectiveness of national service would be under continual review, the end of the third year would be an appropriate time for a major reappraisal. By then, the first participants would have completed their service period and there would be data on the number and kinds of young people volunteering for service, the kind and amount of service that is really needed and can be accomplished by young people, the kinds of decisions made by participants on career choices and higher education, and the effect of the program on race relations.

At a yearly cost for 500,000 participants of \$2 billion, or about one per cent of the annual federal budget, it would then be possible to cut back on the program, to keep it at its existing level or to continue to increase it without major strains on the economy or the social system.

TABLE I
National Foundation for Volunteer Service
Estimated Unit Costs Per Annum

<i>Average cost of volunteer assigned to approved project.</i>	
<i>Subsistence allowance</i>	
<i>(\$3/day rural; \$8/day urban; average \$6/day)</i>	
	\$2,190
<i>End of tour adjustment allowance (\$75/month for 12 months)</i>	
	900
<i>Medical expenses and insurance</i>	
	170
<i>Transportation</i>	
	180
<i>Special clothing (range: \$0-\$100; average \$50)</i>	
	50
<i>Administration (not including administrative costs of sponsoring agency) 15 per cent of total volunteer costs</i>	
	510
TOTAL	\$4,000

If a large-scale national service program goes into effect, its organization must be such as to ensure its integrity as truly representing the national service concept. A highly centralized operation is needed to run an

⁸ John A. Salmond, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1967), pp. 23 and 45.

⁹ Donald J. Eberly (ed.), *National Service*, Appendix A.

¹⁰ See Terrence Cullinan's article on pp. 97ff. of this issue.

TABLE II

Comparison of National Service Program after Three Years with Selected Present Federal Service—Learning Programs

	Peace Corps	Job Corps	VISTA	Neighborhood Youth Corps	College Work-Study Programs	Combined Totals	National Service (1971)
Budget (fiscal '68) In millions	\$107.5	\$285	\$30	\$269.5	\$134	\$826	\$2,000
Beginning Year	1961	1964	1964	1964	1965	—	1968
# Participants ('68 est.)	13,920	35,225	5,000	362,000	300,000	716,145	500,000
Full-time: projected*	13,000	37,000	10,000	120,000	70,000	250,000	500,000
Proportion fem.	35%	27%	51%	50%	58%	48%	53%
Age range	18 up	16–21	18 up	14 up	no limits	—	18–24
Age range majority	20–30	16–21	18–24	14–21	18–24	—	18–24
Education some coll.	96%	—	78%	—	100%	—	40%
H.S. grads	4%	1%	19%	—	—	—	30%
H.S. incomp.	—	99%	3%	100%	—	—	30%
Intensity	full time	full time	full time**	part time	part time	—	full time
Duration	2 yrs	6½ mo.	1–3 yrs	no limit	no limit	—	1–3 yrs

* Estimates were made by the author to provide a basis of comparison between current programs and a national service program.

** In addition to 5,000 full-time volunteers serving for at least one year, the VISTA budget provides for 1,500 Summer Associates serving full time for 10 weeks and some 40,000 members of the VISTA Citizens Corps serving without remuneration.

army or internal revenue service but would tend to erode the purpose and spirit of national service. Such an organization, for example, could too easily become a tool of government propaganda. In some respects the situation parallels that of public television and calls for a public funding agency relatively independent of the federal government.

The main drawback to a decentralized administration for national service is that it would take time and patience to establish.

Just as vital to the national service concept as decentralization is its independence of the Selective Service System. For if a national service program were dependent for its existence on the military draft and if in time there were no longer a need for the

draft,¹¹ it would mean the end of national service, or an unneeded conscription.

A properly organized and administered program of national service would help to balance the equation between society's needs and resources; it would help to reshape American education into something more relevant to the future; it would be a realistic example of how to turn swords into plowshares. And, if Albert Schweitzer's observation that "the only ones among you who will be really happy are those who have sought and found how to serve" is true, national service could become the essence of our third national goal, the pursuit of happiness.

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¹¹ The Defense Department estimated in 1966 (Statement of Thomas Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 14) that the draft would not be needed if no more than two million persons were needed in the armed forces, assuming a 4 per cent unemployment rate.

Tracing the history of America's tradition of service, this writer says: "Just as the townspeople of the Massachusetts Colony found in 1647 that 'universal education of youth is essential to the well-being of the state,' so universal compulsory national service would be a further step in education for the good life of tomorrow's world."

National Service and the American Tradition

BY EDWARD F. HALL
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"IT WAS," wrote James Russell Lowell a century ago, "in making education not only common to all but in some sense compulsory on all that the destiny of the free republic of America was practically settled."

In the United States, the concept of universal national service had its beginnings three centuries ago, when the colony of Massachusetts gave birth to a new era. Its Education Act of 1647 decreed:

1. Universal education of youth is essential to the well-being of the state.
2. The obligation to furnish this education rests primarily upon the parent.
3. The state has the right to enforce this obligation.
4. The state may fix standards of kind and minimum amount.
5. Public money raised by general tax may be used.
6. Education higher than the rudiments may be furnished by the state.

Another strand in our history traces the evolution of public concern for the deprived and unfortunate. In the pioneer community this concern was expressed in a personal relationship between neighbors in a communal framework. As the mill town brought the seeds of urbanization this personal element survived briefly. It was transposed into paternal concern of the small proprietor for his

employees. As industrialization accelerated contact between classes became depersonalized. Lady Bountiful, crossing the railroad tracks in her carriage, aroused envy and hostility. Conversely, the rich assumed that the ragged urchin was proof the parents were shiftless. Paternalism curdled as class consciousness grew.

By the 1880's, the factory system and the city slum had matured. How to reintegrate American society baffled the most well-disposed. In the course of time, legal controls could help balance the scales, but could not bridge the chasm.

In the late nineteenth century, several private and unofficial programs in the United States and abroad brought a heightened awareness of the condition of the disadvantaged, indicated a new sense of concern for their plight, and initiated a new concept of service.

In 1889, Jane Addams opened Hull House, the first settlement house, in Chicago's slums. Though privately financed and only an ameliorating drop in the bucket of slum despair this was a signal step forward in social responsibility. Hull House was a prototype that was followed in every large city. In all settlement houses, slum dwellers and those with an urge to serve came into intimate personal contact. If they did not solve the prob-

lem of deprivation, they exposed it and pioneered new thinking.

Far from the city's slums, in Labrador, another mission was taking shape in the same era—a mission that was to make a lasting impact on the United States. In 1892, Sir Wilfred Grenfell launched a mission to try to alleviate the conditions of life provided by nature in Labrador. There, according to a contemporary account, families existed “well within the danger line of poverty, ignorance and starvation.”

Grenfell had been brought up in gentle opulence in the English countryside, surrounded by devotees of *laissez faire*, steeped in Victorian piety which in his youth was often tinged with intolerance and hypocrisy. In ice-bound Labrador he became a man of ideas well ahead of his time.

The churches [he wrote] are now teaching that religion is action, not diction. . . . In the present state of the world I believe the missionary enterprise to be entirely desirable or I would not be where I am. But being a Christian with a little faith, I hope that it may not be so forever. My own belief is that in the apparently approaching socialistic age, medicine will be communized and provided by the state free to all. If education for the mind is, why not education for the body? . . . When the government of this country is willing and able to take over . . . this mission would have justified its existence by its elimination.

The mission's first project was to build and equip and staff a hospital. In time, there were nine hospitals and a hospital ship. Co-operative stores were organized, enabling the population to escape a life of permanent debt and destitution. Orphans made the need for an orphanage inescapable, and this grew to include a school for other children as well. A lumber mill and hide-treating shops were built to provide off-season work.

Grenfell's influence in the United States was deep and far-reaching. It was not until 1912 that the International Grenfell Association was formed, but even earlier some financial support came from scores of local groups. A lasting impression was made on hundreds of young volunteers who went north to work in the hospitals, build build-

ings and crew ships. Most volunteers were of college age, but troops of Boy Scouts were also included. Like the financial support, these recruits to service came from many parts of the country.

In another remote corner of the world, swords were beaten, not into plowshares, but into school-room equipment. When the Spanish-American War was ended in 1898, American soldiers in the Philippines were offered the choice of returning home or being mustered out on the spot to become school teachers. Many stayed and taught in the villages.

These ventures were small in proportion to the unmet needs of a world population in the billions. Yet they blazed trails that tens of thousands of young men and women, here and in many other countries, are following today in tutoring programs and many other forms of volunteer service. Many of the best goals of the Anti-Poverty Program, the Peace Corps and other foreign programs, government and private alike, have been patterned on the experience of these beginnings in the last century.

The growth of these programs also provided the emerging pattern of universal national service. William James was the first to visualize its full scope. He was also the first to see in it the goal of peace on earth. With this in mind, he titled one of his essays “The Moral Equivalent of War.”

James addressed himself not to the realms of politics and power, but to the area of human motives. Recognizing a human affinity for warfare, he sought something that would replace it as an emotional stimulant. Behind his formulation lay the observation that cooperation was most effective when it arose in opposition to some hostile force. If the force is human, the culmination is war. But, argued James, the adversary need not be fellow humans.

He proposed to dramatize and vitalize the struggle to wrest from nature the fulfillment of all human needs. With the opponent so identified he believed that the struggle for social betterment could replace military encounters. The very form of military organi-

zation and the essence of martial emotion would be employed in the mobilization of the war against nature.

He envisioned

a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against nature. . . . The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fiber of the people; no one would remain blind, as the luxurious classes are now blind, to man's relation to the globe he lives on.

Youths, he proposed, would

be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and sobering ideas. They would have paid their blood tax, done their own part in the immemorial human warfare against nature; they would tread the earth more proudly, the women would value them more highly, they would be better fathers and teachers of the following generation.¹

Half a century has not brought James' idea to fruition. Yet if we take account of changes in that half century and fill in details, a program for national service has emerged.

THE C.C.C.

At his first inaugural in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt echoed James' thesis, endowing his attack on the great depression with the urgency and commitment of wartime:

I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis—broad Executive power to wage war against the emergency, as great as the powers that would be given me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.²

The Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.) was the first major program to get under way. It continued for nine years and served nearly 5,000,000 young men. Those between 18 and 24 whose families were on relief were eligible. Some were from once opulent but depression-shattered homes; most were from city slums.

At its peak, camp population reached 600,000. In proportion to population, this would

be equal to 800,000 today. Overall costs ran to \$1,200 per person per year. This figure included capital costs for construction and equipment and the \$20 monthly wage, the greater part of which was sent home to the enrollee's family.

Camps were located in the country's forests, mountains and plains, wherever there was a clear need for reforestation, soil conservation, water conservation or recreational facilities. Individual camps were small, with a capacity of 200 and a working area within easy distance of the camp. Standardized facilities included five barracks, a mess hall, a recreation building, an office, staff quarters, an infirmary, a garage and a shop.

Two Army officers, usually reservists recalled to active duty for the job, and an educational adviser were assigned to each camp. Staff members from such agencies as the National Park Service, the Forest Service and the Department of Agriculture supervised the work projects.

A study of Cleveland youths who had been in the C.C.C. found they were typically from large families, had some high school education but were backward in their school standing. Fruitless job hunting, followed by re-crimination and friction at home, were frequently mentioned. One-fourth of those interviewed had been below the Army minimum weight requirement, three-fourths below the normal weight-for-height ratio. All in all the depression—which for some ushered in a life of permanent depression—had injured the great majority, but had not destroyed their ability to grow and thrive in a more favorable environment.

When the first of these youths moved from city to country, they slept in pup tents and ate out of mess kits. For some the hardships of this rugged life were grounds for complaint. Others were stimulated and excited. These conflicting reactions were to continue throughout the program, even after the comforts of camp life were substantial. Life in the open was a new and strange experience. The adaptable majority enjoyed the novelty and their senses responded to new perceptions and new activities. But the unhappy

¹ William James, *Memories and Studies* (New York: Longman's, 1911).

² *The Inaugural Addresses of The American Presidents* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961), p. 234.

minority were homesick for homes that in most cases had provided few amenities.

For those who made the grade, physical improvement was almost universal. A good many had been badly undernourished. Among one sampling, the average weight gain was 18 pounds. Most frequently reported benefits were increased self-confidence and a rosier view of the world. This was attributed to new job skills and to the experience of successful communal living. The quarrels that flared and were resolved shaped relationships different in kind from the dull but persistent atmosphere of family disapproval. The sights and smells of the out-of-doors were more varied and rewarding than alley corners and dingy poolrooms. One graduate of a reforestation camp, on returning home, said: "I feel almost as if I owned that land."

The C.C.C. was a crash program for mass application. It was inadequate for handling those who needed special help. The enrollees arrived at camp unbriefed, and the educational program was criticized as inadequate. While the enrollees were too old to require coddling, there were some who found the change in environment beyond their capacity for adjustment. Yet the small proportion of unreclaimed misfits reflects credit on the empathy and understanding of many C.C.C. staff personnel.

The service of these youths was highly productive. A partial summary of the work done during the first seven years of the program listed:

Trees planted: 1.7 billion.
Roads and truck trails built: 80,000 miles.
Forest telephone lines strung: 79,000 miles.
Erosion control dams built: 5 million.
Shrubs and ground cover planted: 700,000 acres.

AFTER WORLD WAR II

United States involvement in World War II added another dimension to the growing concept of national service. Universal military training was advocated in some quarters as the answer to the nation's need. Secretary of War Henry Stimson spoke for many in August, 1944, when he wrote:

Certainly all Americans should accept the principle that every citizen who enjoys the protection of a free government owes and should give his personal services in defense of it. This means the system should be truly universal—all should be treated alike.

If the American people should adopt the principle of universal military training, it would be the strongest possible assurance to the rest of the world that, in the future, America will be not only willing, but *able* and *ready* to take its part with the peace-loving nations in resisting lawless aggression and in assuring peaceful world order.

A War Department policy paper issued that same month rejected the suggestion for a large standing army because it would "concentrate the critical decision of war or peace in a special caste or class of professional soldiers."

In November, 1946, an experimental unit of 70 trainees was established at Fort Knox. It continued until 1948, when the Berlin crisis swept aside all peacetime planning. Though former President Dwight D. Eisenhower still urges UMT, it does not appear to fit United States needs or to meet the more complex problems of the future.

One special group of the UMT Experimental Unit, its Pioneer Platoon, affirmed and advanced the lessons of the C.C.C. a decade earlier. These were 40 young men admitted under the draft by special arrangement. All were mentally or otherwise unqualified for military service.

According to the official report,

nearly all had come from either broken homes or those in which argument and violence were common. Several of the young men had been affected by over-control, nagging and excessive physical punishment. More had been affected by insufficient control. Almost all of them had found it necessary to go to work at an early age. Four had prison records. Only three of the 40 had ever learned to play baseball or other common games. A defeatist attitude in competition characterized the entire group. As a group they were easily swayed.

Special training courses were provided for this group. Primary emphasis was placed on manual training and on instruction and practice in the use of hand tools and power tools.

After six months of training, 17 of the group had gained enough to qualify for military service by the same standards they had failed to meet earlier. Five who had been at the educational norm for 13-year-olds had gained a full two years in developed intelligence in the six-month period.

Twelve were discharged from the Army at the end of the course. For them six months had not sufficed to make up for the deficiencies of 18 years. Yet all 12 begged to remain in the Army and receive further training. Hope had been awakened if not fulfilled. There was, however, no recourse from the hard-boiled facts of Army regulations. They returned perforce to a debilitating and unfavorable environment.

These boys were rendering service equally to society and to themselves. Under full national service such programs would ideally be administered under civilian, not military, auspices. In the conservation of human resources, other national servicemen would be working with the younger brothers of the deprived and disheartened, broadening their horizons before the virus of hopelessness had sunk so deep.

PEACE CORPS

Last item in this catalogue of universal national service ancestry is the Peace Corps. In aims and methods it could well be looked upon as the Grenfell Mission writ large. On March 1, 1961, President John F. Kennedy announced:

I have today signed an Executive Order establishing a Peace Corps on a temporary pilot basis. . . . I recommend to the Congress the establishment of a permanent Peace Corps—a pool of trained American men and women sent overseas by the Government or through private organizations and institutions to help foreign countries meet their urgent needs for skilled manpower. . . . Let us hope that other nations will mobilize the spirit and energies and skill of their people in some form of Peace Corps—making our own effort only one step in a major international effort to increase the welfare of all men and improve understanding among nations.³

³In Henry Steele Commager (ed.), *Documents of American History* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), p. 691.

In 1960, a study made under congressional authority had provided a blueprint for the corps. Some months later Vice President Hubert Humphrey, then a Senator, first used the term "Peace Corps" in proposing three years of such service as an alternative to two years of military service under the draft. The study proposed a corps of from 30,000 to 50,000. It summed up the need it was asked to fill in the less developed countries, "The missing element, beyond capital, technology and leadership, is middle manpower."

Six months after President Kennedy's Executive Order, Congress gave permanent status to the Peace Corps. By the end of 1961, 120 young men and women were serving abroad. An annual appropriation of \$115,000 has varied only slightly in the years since; this figure is intended to support a corps of 14,000.

Three years ago, President Lyndon B. Johnson summarized Peace Corps achievements, in an address to an audience of Peace Corpsmen, saying: "I wish there were as many of you as there are of soldiers, sailors and marines. The more we have of you the less we will need of them."

A PROGRAM OF COMPULSORY NATIONAL SERVICE

The American tradition of service includes every sort of peacetime service activity. Just as the townspeople of the Massachusetts Colony found in 1647 that "universal education of youth is essential to the well-being of the state," so universal compulsory national service would be a further step in education for the good life of tomorrow's world. No one questions the need and propriety of compulsory education at lower age levels, nor is it regarded as an infringement of American rights.

As it is generally discussed today, Universal National Service—for young men only—is a program to involve these men at the threshold of maturity in meaningful activity through which they can identify with society, gain a sense of participation and achievement in advancing the permanent values of that society, and emerge with a conviction of re-

sponsibility toward and capability for their individual contribution to the betterment of the world they live in.

To accomplish so much the program must be broad enough to tap the full range of youthful interests, ideals and talent. It must make its appeal to those who are old enough to question and young enough to weigh answers with an open mind. The best age would be 18 or on completion of high school. When the chosen service required further academic education or technical training, its performance could be postponed until a later age.

The options offered under the program would include enterprises sponsored by national and local government, religious and other private groups, and international organizations. They would be grouped under four broad categories: national service in the armed forces, in foreign programs, in conservation of human resources, or in conservation of natural resources.

Three months of preliminary training and orientation would provide the machinery for matching taste and talent to our greatest needs. With approximately 1,800,000 young men entering the national service pipeline each year, a constant population of around 10,000 would be maintained in each of 45 preliminary orientation camps. Arrivals would be staggered at biweekly intervals in order to make efficient use of camp facilities.

The orientation program would be primarily academic, with lectures, conferences, discussions and counseling. The broad sweep of national service would be covered in the first days. Then the various options would be explained. As the trainees made their tentative choices the subject matter would be narrowed and options and suboptions explored in greater detail.

As choices were made, the trainee's qualifications for the selected service would be checked. Some would be found unqualified for their first choice. For them a matching

of interest and capability would be sought through counseling, and a second and more suitable choice would be made. Others might be indifferent or uncertain and could be helped by aptitude testing.

At the end of the three months the majority would move directly into their chosen stint of national service. Some would be headed for service that would require further study or training. This could range from one year to complete undergraduate and graduate study as in the case of those wishing to serve as doctors. All those deferred for further study would make a binding contract to perform their service when their course of study was completed. They would then be free to return to school without risk of interruption.

ADVANTAGES OF COMPULSION

Advocates of national service are divided on the question of whether or not it should be compulsory. First, however, one must decide whether it should be universal for all young men. Clearly, it would not be universal unless it were compulsory.*

The current interest in national service has been triggered by the desire to find a more equitable Selective Service System. Inequity cannot be eliminated so long as some are taken and others are not. Therefore, unless national service includes all young men, it ceases to be relevant to the immediate purpose for which it is proposed.

Under a noncompulsory and consequently nonuniversal system, those who have most to gain would reap no benefits. Two groups, at opposite ends of the economic spectrum, would be the losers.

The upgrading and social integration of the deprived and disadvantaged would be the most important options in the area of conservation of human resources. Those who

(Continued on page 110)

Edward F. Hall has worked for many New York newspapers, serving on *The New York Times* from 1926 to 1947. After duty in the Pacific in World War II, he was on the staff of the experimental Universal Military Training unit at Fort Knox.

* *Editor's note:* This discussion involves compulsory national service for men only. For a discussion of national service for men and women, see the articles by Donald Eberly, Sol Tax and Margaret Mead in this issue.

Discussing the individual's need to relate to his society, this noted anthropologist writes, "This is the context in which the concept of national service has positive meaning. Every individual becomes again related to his fellows in ways that make him feel that he is moving society."

Society, the Individual and National Service

BY SOL TAX

Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY's inaugural plea, "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country," lifted the spirits of people too long and too far separated from participation in public affairs.

The Mayflower Compact included all the people; so do town hall meetings and very small-town governments. With the growth of our societies, national and local alike, we have become professionalized. Not only government but voluntary organizations have grown bigger and bigger, and more and more professional. All that most citizens are asked to do is to pay their legal taxes and to give charitable contributions; the money buys people to do what needs to be done. We become numbers who give until it hurts rather than persons who give because it feels good. There is a system outside of us, which we cannot understand, and for which we have no love.

It is a system of interlocking systems: an economic and technological system that marches on, whatever any one of us does; a political system which asks for our votes at a moment when the choices have already been narrowed by impersonal forces; and a social system to which we find ourselves conforming that changes the words, the fashions, the rights and wrongs around us. If there are men making history, they are very few and they are strangers: some are very familiar names; most are behind-the-scenes actors.

People want and need to make decisions; if they lose control of their environment, they feel uprooted, unnecessary, alienated. Only a vague yearning remains, which is crystallized and becomes visible when somebody like President Kennedy suddenly suggests that perhaps we could turn back. This is the basis of proposals for national service programs, whether voluntary or compulsory. It is also the basis for black power, red power, youth power, or any group striving; and for organized movements. Each new organization struggles not only to break into the system, but to maintain its voluntary personal and social character. When it is successful as an organization, however, it usually also adopts the methods of the system which it fights, and becomes in turn bureaucratized and professionalized; so that unsatisfied people once again rebel.

Our present situation may be characteristic of large societies everywhere; doubtless there were similar difficulties at various periods in the Roman Empire and in China and elsewhere. It is not, however, characteristic of human societies. Through the long period of human evolution our nature has been formed in characteristically small societies, either hunting and food-gathering bands of kin—numbering 50 or 100 related individuals—or agricultural villages or herding societies which are frequently larger. These societies are organized in a great many ways but they are alike in that each and every person has

a place in a single community, and understands equally well how and why things happen in it.

ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

One day in Guatemala I sat with an Indian of one such village. An airplane flew overhead, and my companion remarked, "Airplanes are made in your town, aren't they?" Whether by "your town" (*su pueblo*) he meant the particular city where I live, or my country more generally, I do not know. In Indian Guatemala, each town may have its special manufactures—pottery, baskets, rope, mats, and so on. When I replied in the affirmative, he startled me by saying, "Then you know how to make an airplane." As I thought this over, I realized that nobody "knows how to make an airplane" in the sense that everybody in a village knows how to make a pot. Airplanes are made in a complex manner in our society. Many a thing gets done, without any individual "knowing how" to do it, or even how it is done. Who, for example, sets the price of beef from day to day? Who among us can control it? Or how is a new President chosen? For that matter, who decides to have a war?

Whether there is a point where the area of control for any individual becomes intolerably small I do not know; expectations fall, and people can be satisfied in small groups which control only their own relationships. But when a President calls them forth to serve their country, their expectations and their hopes soar.

This is the context in which the concept of national service has positive meaning. Every individual becomes again related to his fellows in ways that make him feel that he is moving society. Such service is usually cited, not in this context, but in discussions of the draft, as a means of equalizing the burdens beyond selective service. Frequently, therefore, it is limited to men, as though women do not have the same needs—or as though society doesn't need the services of women. Before turning to general National Service, it will be useful to consider military service briefly.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR

Since war has been ubiquitous in human history, societies which survive to be studied have generally instilled in their people the nobility and the glory of war. The citizen army driving the enemy from the sacred soil of the fatherland is an image treasured by all of mankind. "The men whose bleeding feet made red the snows of Valley Forge" are foremost in our own tradition. This image makes it foolish to ask whether we want a paid army; it was precisely the British who sent mercenaries against the colonials. The same image equally denies the need for conscription. The citizen army is an army of volunteers.

When wars arise from the people's common desire for defense or for conquest, they understand it and it is a citizen's war.

A war made by the state through some process of decision-making in which the citizenry does not participate requires either a professional (voluntary) military force or an army of conscripts forced to serve. Such an army, consisting of volunteers and of conscripts, in whatever proportion, is glorified by those who have made the decisions, and by citizens whose sons, brothers, husbands are part of it. But when such a military force is made up largely of conscripts, or of men who volunteer when they are faced with conscription as the alternative, its glorification appears nevertheless hollow to many and is largely a rationalization to make service less onerous. When in addition conscription is employed in peacetime or for a "small war" when only a very few are selected out of the many eligible men, and particularly when in such circumstances the men who are selected are asked to fight in an unpopular war, more and more citizens put aside as sham any analogy to Valley Forge.

It may be fair, therefore, to present a brief description of selective conscription as it conflicts with the sacred American values of liberty and equality.

There is much that is compulsory in our society, and doubtless in every society; so if war is a fact it is not surprising that people should be compelled to become soldiers. The

problems arise when only a small proportion of the people are needed; and they alone are forced to become soldiers. In his message to Congress on the subject, March 6, 1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson put it this way:

Today the need is for less than 50 per cent [of the men available for military duty] and only about a third or less of this number must be involuntarily inducted—even under the conditions of war. When the firing stops . . . the requirements will be for fewer still.

The danger of inequity is imbedded in these statistics. It arises when not every eligible man must be called upon to serve. It is intensified when the numbers of men needed are relatively small in relation to the numbers available.¹

These few were free men like the others. However selected, they are forcibly separated from the others, put under strict discipline, depersonalized with uniforms, numbers, and categories of superiors who must be treated with all the symbols of respect. They must do whatever menial tasks they are assigned in any jungle or ice flow, or desert or mountain.

They must be prepared to fight and kill on command, or risk death or crippling injury. Their lives are cut in two, even if only time is lost, and the hiatus has few if any constructive possibilities. To those who must serve, the honor of being a soldier, and the songs and stories of their service, are some compensation, at least setting them apart from men somewhat similarly imprisoned for disgraceful crimes.

WHO SHALL SERVE?

When selective conscription is defined in such terms, it seems difficult to turn to the problem of "fairness" in the system by which some are selected to serve. The law supposes that all eligible men are equally liable to military service; nobody is exempted although some are deferred. Statistically, most eligible men are nonetheless "deferred" until they have passed the eligible age limit, so that

in practice "deferment" becomes exemption. Although categories to be deferred are defined in the legislation, decisions concerning individual cases are left to local draft boards. Since any man's fate depends upon a variety of "accidental" and "chance" factors, this is sometimes thought of as an unsystematic lottery. There are proposals to make the selection by an explicit—hence systematic—lottery. This is opposed on grounds that it denies any rational choice; persons more necessary in civilian life would be just as readily chosen. Within the flexibilities allowed by law, the local draft boards get general directives from the central Selective Service Administration on the sort of persons who should be deferred. One such directive (in 1965) indicates the way in which the current system is conceived to substitute reason for randomness. I quote only from the last paragraph:

While the best known purpose of Selective Service is to procure manpower for the armed forces, a variety of related processes take place outside delivery of manpower to the active armed forces. Many of these may be put under the heading of "channeling manpower." Many young men would not have pursued a higher education if there had not been a program of student deferment. Many young scientists, engineers, tool and die makers, and other possessors of scarce skills would not remain in their jobs in the defense effort if there had not been a program of occupational deferments. Even though the salary of a teacher has historically been meager, many young men remain in that job, seeking the reward of a deferment. The process of channeling manpower by deferment is entitled to much credit for the large number of graduate students in technical fields and for the fact that there is not a greater shortage of teachers, engineers and other scientists working in activities which are essential to the national interest. . . .²

Those who support selection by lot perhaps reject the right of a bureau so casually to implement its private social utopia, incidental to its narrower primary function, especially since the effect is to decide without due process of law who should or should not be forcibly made into a soldier.

Whether a systematic lottery or some variation of the present system is used to select

¹ Sol Tax, ed., *The Draft. A Handbook of Facts and Alternatives* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 466.

² Morton Fried, Marvin Harris, and Robert Murphy, eds. *War. The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression* (New York: The Natural History Press, 1968), pp. 203-4.

those men required by the military, we still face unequal involuntary military service. Since this violates American values, it is an evil. There are some who argue that it is an unnecessary evil. The Selective Service Administration itself justifies the draft in part as a threat that encourages men to volunteer for military service under more favorable terms.

Since the draft calls go down as enlistments increase, the draft would fade away entirely if military manpower needs could be met by volunteers. Some argue that many patriotic men would be glad to volunteer if they could afford the financial deprivation (for themselves and their families) which is a consequence of the extraordinarily low income—well below the federal minimum wage—which the military provides. Therefore they propose higher pay. Those who support continued conscription argue that higher pay will attract people to military service for the wrong reasons, implying that enlisting to avoid conscription is a better reason; or that an army of conscripts is more patriotic than an army in which soldiers are paid somewhat nearer to what their officers—whose motives are not impugned—are paid. They also argue that the draft machinery should be kept oiled for an emergency in which it will have to be quickly used; that the costs of the raise in pay would strain the national economy; that a “mercenary” army would be dangerous to the nation; and that the relative poverty of Negroes would make higher pay scales so attractive to them that we might come to have a mainly Negro fighting force.

All of these arguments have been countered in three recent books,³ how convincingly will depend on the reader. A violation of our liberty can be and often is defended as necessary to defend that very liberty; so President Johnson began his Message to Congress,

The knowledge that military service must sometimes be borne by—and imposed on—free men

so their freedom may be preserved is woven deeply into the fabric of the American experience.

But when many now ask whether this is an appropriate “sometimes” the burden of proof shifts to those who see no alternative to forcing men to serve against their will.

NATIONAL SERVICE

Since Selective Service also violates our value of equality, many go in the direction of extending service from the few in the military to the many in the nation. President Kennedy followed his inaugural by providing opportunities, through the Peace Corps, for service to our country abroad; and later similar opportunities came for service at home in VISTA and the Teacher’s Corps.

If there had been no peacetime draft, the idea of national service might never have become associated with a way of resolving the basic inequity of forcing some but not all into service. Perhaps conscientious objection to war—with provision for alternative service legally recognized as some equivalent—is sufficient to suggest a connection. In any case, a connection exists. At a 1966 University of Chicago conference on the draft, there were strong proponents of a system of national service; and they clashed head-on with those who wished to abolish all military service, and found intolerable any extension of the possible use of compulsion.

The examples of national service that we have—like the Peace Corps and VISTA—are cases of voluntary service. If they become alternatives to compulsory military service, they will lose the quality of voluntarism which attracts many people to the concept. It seems true that “universal” and “voluntary” seem also contradictory; but this may come partly from the negative context in which the concept of national service has been cast, and partly from an inability to imagine how in our large society full participation—after the pattern of small, traditional societies—might become technically possible. Let me therefore devote the remainder of this paper to the possibility of voluntary national service.

³ See Tax, *op. cit.*; James C. Miller III, ed., *Why the Draft? The Case for a Volunteer Army* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1968); Robert T. Stafford, *et al.*, *How to End the Draft, The Case for an All-Volunteer Army* (Washington, D.C.: National Press, 1967).

VOLUNTARY NATIONAL SERVICE

I begin with a model from the Indian towns of Guatemala which I have mentioned, who share a so-called *cargo* (burden) or *servicio* (service) system which is widespread among Indians in parts of Middle and South America.

In the midwestern highlands of Guatemala, communities of typical Indians are identified with *municipios* which, while somewhat comparable to townships, are in Guatemala the important ethnic units.⁴ There is much that is common to the cultures of all of the *municipios*, but considering that they are in close physical proximity and there is constant and close passage of Indians from one to another, the differences are more striking.⁵ The Indians of a *municipio* identify as a distinct group of people, biologically and socially. Each *municipio* tends to have its own costume, which labels its members wherever they go. Each has a relatively exclusive set of customs, including those of birth, baptism, system of naming, marriage, burial, kinship and family and household organization, and rituals of many kinds. Even in details of diet, cookery, etiquette, house-types and other material things, *municipios* differ in greater or lesser detail from all their neighbors. Each tends to have its own economic specialties, and there are important differences in ecology, size, and standard of living.

The "natives" of each *municipio* are organized in a single all-encompassing politico-religious organization; immigrants from other towns, if any, do not participate in it, and in fact may have left their own communities to avoid onerous *servicios*. In briefest summary, this is the "system" as described in 1937:

There is a hierarchy of secular officials in each

municipio with functions ranging from those of a combined mayor and justice of the peace to those of janitors and messengers: there is a parallel hierarchy of sacred officials in charge of the important *santos* of the *municipio*. The officers are theoretically "elected" but actually they take turns, starting with the lower offices and gradually moving higher and higher: in the progression there is an alternation between the secular and sacred hierarchies, so that the two are effectively linked. Eventually, having passed through all of the offices, the individual becomes a principal, an elder in the community exempt from further service to the town. There are almost as many variations of this scheme, in detail, as there are *municipios*.⁶

Although the system is one of compulsory universal service which provides the major organizing principle for all communities, it is worth looking more closely at the contrast between its operation in Chichicastenango and in Panajachel:

A major difference between the two communities is the size of the population, which has significant consequences for the problem at hand. In Chichicastenango there are some 25,000 Indians instead of 800. There is in general the same kind of social system, with its hierarchy of offices to be filled each year. But the number of offices is proportionally much smaller. In Panajachel 52 offices are divided among 132 families; in Chichicastenango about 350 are divided among some 5,000 families. The difference is one office for every 2 or 3 families versus one for every 14 or 15. But in Chichicastenango no less than in Panajachel a man is expected to rest 2 or 3 years between offices; indeed were the periods of rest lengthened proportionally he would die long before getting up the ladder. The solution is, of course, that in Chichicastenango not all families participate fully in the system. Whereas in Panajachel every man can expect to become the *alcalde* eventually, in Chichicastenango only a relative few can pass up the ladder.⁷

There are ways to avoid all or part of the system. Political services can be legally avoided by performing national military service and remaining in the reserves; but most Indians return to their duties. Finally, of course, it is possible to "leave town" and some individuals do so; they then have no obligations; likewise some colonies break off from the home *municipio*—sometimes because the services have become too onerous—and es-

⁴ My paper on "The Municipios of the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, July–September, 1937, is the classic description.

⁵ My "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, January–March, 1941, tries to explain the anomaly.

⁶ "The Municipios," *op. cit.*, pp. 442–444.

⁷ From my *Penny Capitalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 206–207.

establish their own informal system. It is more significant to note, however, that relatively few Indians desert, and most of them in an egalitarian system get considerable satisfaction from participating in the system.

AN ANTHROPOLOGIST'S MODEL SYSTEM

It is this model which I am suggesting for a national service system in the United States, which would include all people, of both sexes and all ages. It would integrate and personalize our society at any level—neighborhood, city, region, nation—one considers. Since we have equal constitutional rights, the model follows Panajachel instead of Chichicastenango. Since the model suggests ways to assure that the system would change with the times, and in response to individual needs and desires, it would not be legally compulsory. The model anticipates that the rewards for participation would be so immediate and weighty, and the opportunities for service so varied, and so important, that almost everybody would participate and feel sorry for the few who could not or would not.

Such a utopia echoes the yearnings of many for an answer to the loss of community in the large society; it has become a possibility now only because the evolution of our technology, which brought the change to the large society, and its difficulties, has now advanced to the point where it can be used to resolve them. With computer technology, for the first time we have means to handle the wants and interests of large numbers of people.⁸ So far those of us who are people- and community-minded have had reason to fear our instruments might turn us into numbers. But soon we shall begin to turn them to social uses. As always, there will be danger that "somebody" will get control of the system; which only suggests that the first task is to program safeguards into it. In fact, decision-making

in society is much less hierarchical than we suppose. In a brilliant analysis of the reality of the situation, Charles E. Lindblom⁹ has shown that in a democracy decisions rely on a very great dispersion of power.

The computer would presumably be programmed to maximize such dispersion. The model for the future resembles more the non-hierarchical structure of American Indian societies than the flowing succession in the Guatemalan system described. Like most hunting societies, North American Indians generally lived (and still do) in a system in which every individual's interest was taken into account by direct and visible "mutual adjustment." Rather than "majority rule" in which 51 per cent (or 99 per cent) forces 49 per cent (or 1 per cent) to do its will, the ideal of these people is to talk and negotiate until every individual is satisfied that his views and interests have been taken into account as much as is possible. (The result may be a split in the tribe, or band, which in the days of freedom resulted in social and geographic separation, but which now results often in unhappy factions forced to remain together.)

There cannot be a "committee with power" or "delegation of authority," since in a society like this a person acts only for himself and does not commit another. If there is a war party, or a hunt, a leader is followed, because he is presumed to have the spiritual power needed for success; he is obeyed at the time and place, in the particular context, but is not as a person the superior of anybody. One person is never "the boss," and indeed nobody presumes to order another. Harmony is the ideal; sharing is the highest value; equality is the rule; the person-in-his-social-context is the unit of society.

(Continued on page 109)

⁸ See Robert Boguslaw, *The New Utopians. A Study of System Design and Social Change* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), and especially Harold Sackman, *Computers, System-Science, and Evolving Society* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967).

⁹ *The Intelligence of Democracy. Decision Making Through Mutual Adjustment* (New York: The Free Press, 1965).

Sol Tax is a field anthropologist with long experience in the field of Indian cultures in Middle and North America. He is Dean of University Extension at the University of Chicago, and was instrumental in arranging the Conference on the Draft held there in 1966.

Commenting on Professor Tax's article, this noted anthropologist shows how "a national service in which all . . . participated would make a tremendous contribution to citizen-knowledge of the country and citizen-participation in the benefits of our increasingly affluent but inequitable society."

The Case for Compulsory National Service

BY MARGARET MEAD

Curator of Ethnology, American Museum of Natural History

IN HIS ANALYSIS of national service, Professor Tax has ranged widely over the issues raised by various proposals, and I shall confine myself to the arguments in favor of compulsory as opposed to voluntary national service. The aims of national service have been stated as follows: the inclusion of women as well as men; the equitable spread of service to the country over the entire population, instead of the present inequity by which the most able-bodied and literate young men are asked to give military service while no service whatsoever is asked of their contemporaries who are ineligible or escape the draft; an opportunity for a reassessment of the health and education of all the youth of the nation, and the correction of defects or deficiencies; an opportunity for all young people to live apart from their own families before they set up families of their own; a period within our increasingly prolonged education in which all young people could pause and reassess their careers and later educational plans; an opportunity to correct the provincialism inherent in our highly stratified and increasingly segregated society.

Additionally, those who advocate voluntary national service stress the advantages of unselfish service to humanity; they fear that compulsory national service would tarnish the luster of such voluntary dedication as is found in the Peace Corps.

I would argue that only if national ser-

vice is compulsory, nationwide and federally financed is there any possibility of realizing these aims. In our system of public schools, compulsory education establishes a floor below which no community is permitted to go and at the same time makes it possible for any community to improve on that basic standard. A compulsory system thus does not put any ceiling on a required endeavor. Compulsory national service would mobilize the funds necessary for the maintenance and administration of a system within which young people could be given a large number of options, varying from military service—which could be made the most attractive of the options in terms of salary scale, training possibilities and veteran benefits—through forms of exacting and dedicated activity like VISTA and the Peace Corps. The latter activities would extend perhaps a year beyond the military requirement, in work overseas or in deprived areas in this country.

The system could be so arranged that cooperation with a large number of local and voluntary agencies would be possible. The only limiting requirement would be that no one would work in his or her own community or with a group that represented any single locality or single educational institution. By the large number of options presented, inductees could express, by their preferences, support or rejection of national programs, both in international affairs and in

domestic affairs. The present relationship between military service and conscientious objection would be extended to a wide range of choices of where and in what way the period of national service was to be spent. An individual who felt that no program initiated by government deserved support could still claim the status of a conscientious objector. A variety of services planned by voluntary organizations with federal fund support would further diversify the possible choices.

Such a national service plan would fit well with our increasing belief that every child born in this country has a right to health care and education, and that every person over 65 has a right to medical care. It fits, too, with the present movement towards a basic subsistence for every individual under some plan like the negative income tax. For young people, either in a designated age group, or within a designated age range, service to their country, at a subsistence level, would be regarded both as a duty and an opportunity.

Those who had fared worst up to induction might spend the entire time in remedial activities. Those who had fared best would be able to choose areas of greatest exertion and exposure. Such service would satisfy the plea for correction of the inequities of remote rural or urban slum environments, on the one hand, and the plea of the sheltered for more relevant activities, on the other hand.

The nature of the service could include a large number of necessary tasks for which we are at present unable to recruit a sufficient number of workers by simple wage inducements: child care, nursing, teaching assistance, conservation, individual tutoring especially in science and mathematics, research assistance in public agencies, safety and health agencies, and so forth. Such limited participation would open the way for careers or for avocations, and for a better understanding of much of the work of the world.

BALINESE MODEL

As an anthropologist, Professor Tax has offered models from two societies. I will draw on another society, that of Bali, for a third model. In a Balinese village, participa-

tion was both a duty and a privilege; no one was allowed to shirk his share of village work or assessment, but no one was allowed to refuse his share of distributed honor or food. Americans tend to separate rights and duties, so that they claim rights and complain about duties—such as tax paying or the observance of bureaucratic regulations. For the Balinese, no such distinction existed.

Balinese society was divided into many small virtually autonomous communities. Those who failed to meet their obligations and to claim their privileges were simply excluded.

In an enormous society such as ours, neither local financing, local sanctions nor local opportunities for voluntary service could possibly provide the degree of equity which a demand for national service implies. The present system of local draft boards, originally devised out of an interest in local responsibility, is no longer adequate in such a mobile country as the United States. No model based on a small pre-industrial society can be anything more than a useful guideline.

The United States would approach this Balinese model if the payment of taxes and the performance of services were regarded as establishing participation rather than as burdens, if education and health care were seen as forms of positive participation.

A national service which was compulsory for young people for a limited period should not preclude other forms of activity for older people, especially for people in their retirement years. This could remain as an option which might well be a renewal of experience gained during the compulsory period.

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Margaret Mead is a well-known anthropologist who has done research in Samoa, the Admiralty Islands, New Guinea and Bali. She has held professorships at Columbia, the University of Cincinnati and the Menninger Foundation, and has written extensively on anthropological subjects. Dr. Mead recently edited *American Women*, a report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women (New York: Scribner, 1966).

According to this writer, "Monetary gain, training and veteran's benefits are not the only reasons men join the armed forces; if they were, there would be almost no true volunteers today. Men join because of patriotism, family tradition, the military's image of manliness and the chance to travel. These attractions are strong, but they are presently nullified by low salaries."

The Pros and Cons of a Voluntary Army

By JOHN MITRISIN

Former Research Associate, Institute for Policy Studies

AMERICANS are subjecting the Selective Service System and the idea of military conscription to prolonged and serious questioning. Criticism of the draft is an outgrowth of the conflict in Vietnam. The war has meant higher draft calls. Students who were formerly deferred are worried about their deferments. Controversy and conflict surround ranking, grades and the Selective Service test. The creation of an automatic deferment for undergraduates in 1967 has not eliminated opposition to the draft.

There are still questions. Why should some men be drafted, and perhaps die, while others avoid military service? Why should those able to afford a college education be classified II-S, while those who cannot are classified I-A? The draft raises the problem of the individual's right to choose in a democratic society. The title of the National Advisory Commission's Report on the Selective Service sums up the problem, *In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves When Not All Serve?*

The problem of equity exists because the armed forces do not need all the men between the ages of 18 and 25 who make up

the draft pool. As time goes on, a lower and lower percentage of men will be drawn from it. In 1967, 14 million men were in the pool. In 1970, the number will be 15.5 million.¹ In order to maintain a force ranging between 2.5 and 3 million men, the armed services need 500 thousand new recruits annually.² This is about one-third of the men reaching the age of 18 each year, or one-sixth of all 18- and 19-year-olds.

In order to make the operation of Selective Service easier, the size of the pool is reduced. Men are eliminated by the rigorous physical and mental standards necessary for acceptance into the armed forces, and by deferments in 16 categories. Those who remain in the pool are I-A—available for military service.

The Selective Service policy of autonomy for local boards increases the inequity of the draft. There are no national deferment standards. A man deferred in one jurisdiction may be drafted in another. When the system was created, General Lewis B. Hershey advocated local autonomous boards as the fairest means of selection. In his plan, a man was to be selected by a board composed of friends and neighbors who knew his circumstances. In most communities this is not the case. The rule in populous metropolitan and suburban areas is autonomy for board members. A man is known through his file,

¹ House Armed Services Committee (hearings), *Review of the Administration and Operation of the Selective Service System*, June, 1966, p. 10003.

² Walter Oi, "The Dubious Need for a Draft," House Armed Services Committee (hearings), *Extension of the Universal Military Training and Service Act*, May, 1967, p. 2111.

not through personal acquaintance. The names of local board members, according to one college student, are "one of the best guarded secrets in America."³

Inequity is not the only cause of opposition to the draft. Some opponents feel that conscription in any form is incompatible with a democratic society. Kenneth Boulding, an economist at the University of Michigan, believes that the draft "... represents the threat system of the state turned on its own citizens, however much the threat may be disguised by a fine language about service and 'every young man fulfilling his obligation.'"⁴

One alternative to conscription in general, and to Selective Service in particular, is an all-volunteer army. The idea has the support of liberals and of conservatives. Former Vice-President Richard Nixon, Senators Edward Brooke and Mark Hatfield, Congressmen Henry Reuss and Thomas Curtis, and economists Milton Friedman and John Kenneth Galbraith are supporters. This article will present the arguments for and against such a system. The voluntary armed forces idea will then be compared to the lottery and to compulsory national service, which are other alternatives to the Selective Service.

PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

Proponents of a volunteer force feel it would help resolve the armed forces' present inability to attract and retain the skilled manpower they need. The advances in military technology since the end of World War II

have changed the armed services' manpower needs. The development of ballistic missiles, nuclear submarines and electronic computers has meant the replacement of the unskilled combat soldier by the skilled specialist. At the end of World War II, combat soldiers accounted for 23.6 per cent of enlisted personnel. In 1962, the figure was 14.5 per cent. During the same period, the ratio of electronics specialists increased from 6 to 13.8 per cent, and the ratio of technicians and mechanics rose from 28 to 32 per cent.⁵

The draft is one of the causes of the armed forces' shortage of skilled manpower. In 1966, draftees accounted for 35.9 per cent of the enlisted personnel.⁶ These men serve for two years. Their basic and advanced training takes five or six months. When training time is deducted, a draftee serves only one and a half years as a productive member of the armed forces. The effective use of draftees is complicated by the Defense Department's unwillingness to provide advanced training for first-term recruits.⁷ This means most draftees are undertrained. Those capable of technically and administratively sophisticated jobs are denied the chance to use their ability. The Department of Defense's unwillingness is understandable in view of the fact that the reenlistment rate for draftees is only 5 to 8 per cent; the reenlistment rate for the services as a whole is 22 per cent. Of the 336,000 men drafted in 1966, a maximum of 27,000 will reenlist. It would be a waste of time and money to give most of these men advanced training.⁸

In a volunteer force, all men would serve a minimum of three years. Fewer men would be needed each year, since a volunteer who serves three years is equal to two draftees. It has been estimated by Walter Oi, an economist at the University of Washington who worked on the Defense Department study of the draft, that reenlistments in a volunteer force would be 36.6 per cent.⁹ It would be feasible in these circumstances for the Department of Defense to give first-term recruits advanced training, since they would all serve three years, and about one-third would reenlist.

³ The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, *In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves When Not All Serve?* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 20.

⁴ Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Draft in a Democratic Society," in Sol Tax (ed.), *The Draft* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 195.

⁵ Harold Wool, "The Changing Pattern of Military Skills," *Employment Security Review*, July, 1963.

⁶ House Armed Services Committee, *Review*, p. 10001.

⁷ Mark V. Pauly and Thomas D. Willett, "Efficiency in Military Manpower Procurement," in James C. Miller, III (ed.), *Why The Draft?* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1968), p. 74.

⁸ Senator Mark O. Hatfield, "The Draft Should Be Abolished," *Saturday Evening Post*, July 1, 1967, pp. 12-14.

⁹ Oi, in House Armed Services Committee, *Review*, p. 2111.

IMPLICIT TAX

The implicit tax concept is another argument used by advocates of a volunteer army. Its best-known exponent is Milton Friedman, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, and an adviser to Barry Goldwater in the 1964 Presidential campaign.¹⁰ The implicit tax exists because conscription allows the armed forces to bypass the market system. In the market, supply and demand determine the price. If the pay offered is too low, not enough men will apply for the job. The armed forces do not rely on pay to attract men. The draft, and fear of the draft, is why most men join. In order to eliminate the implicit tax, the laws of supply and demand must prevail. The Department of Defense must raise wages and offer other attractions so that all military manpower needs are met by true volunteers. Since national defense is a public good from which all citizens benefit, taxes could be raised so all citizens would bear the cost.¹¹ There is no reason why the draftee or "reluctant" volunteer should have to pay more than other citizens.

INCREASED FREEDOM

The abolition of conscription would give young men greater personal freedom. It would allow them to decide whether they wanted to serve. The rhetoric of a free society which allows men to make their own decisions would become a reality. The problem of the conscientious objector would be eliminated. Young men could engage in political and social protest without fear of being drafted in retaliation.

The draft forces many men to act in ways they would not otherwise contemplate. Some go to college to get an educational deferment, not an education. It would be better for

them to engage in other pursuits. (It would also be better for our overcrowded colleges and universities.) Others marry and start families to get deferments. Some of these marriages are hasty affairs, imposing financial and emotional responsibilities which some couples are not ready to handle. The individuals involved and society as a whole can be harmed. Still others go into occupations which grant deferments. The Selective Service administration justifies this "channeling," in the name of national security. It can be a waste of valuable manpower and an impairment of national security if a man finds such a job boring and would be better suited to other work.

Those men who do not receive deferments and who do not "volunteer" find their draft eligibility a liability when seeking employment, since employers are not willing to invest time and money training men who might be inducted into the army.¹² These men can be drafted until they are 26 years old. For eight years, their lives and careers are subject to possible disruption by two years of military service. The possibility of induction effectively denies these men the full rights of citizenship in a democratic state.

A volunteer armed force would end conscription. The controversies over deferments and equity would be eliminated. The present complex system where men register, are classified, deferred, granted appeal, reclassified, examined, rejected or inducted would disappear, along with the 4,000 local draft boards and the bureaucracy which surrounds them. Young men could decide for themselves what they wanted to do. Those who wished to serve could volunteer and be accepted or rejected.

A voluntary armed force would give men 18 through 25 years of age a voice in the formulation of military policy. Decisions on where troops will be sent and how many men will be drafted are presently made by older men. These men formed their concepts and outlook on the world 10, 20, 30, and 50 years ago. Our world is changing rapidly. What was true during World Wars I and II, or during the Korean War, might not be true today.

¹⁰ For further discussion of the hidden costs of the draft, see Walter Oi, "Can We Afford the Draft?" *Current History*, July, 1968, pp. 34ff.

¹¹ Mark V. Pauly and Thomas D. Willett, "Who 'Should' Bear the Burden of National Defense?" in Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

¹² Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower), "Selected Tables from Surveys of the Military Age Population," October, 1966, tables 12-15.

The concepts and ideas formed in the past may not be those of the men who now do the fighting and risk their lives. Views critical of our armed forces expressed by draft-age men may sometimes be found in magazines and newspapers. These articles do not have the power to change policy. A volunteer army would give weight to the thoughts and opinions of young men. If a man disapproved of the nation's military policies, he would not volunteer. If enough men disapproved, enlistments would decrease in number. This would indicate to military and civilian leaders that changes were in order, since the democracy's male citizens were unwilling to defend with their lives the policies then in effect.

RECRUITMENT

In order to attract enough volunteers, the Department of Defense would have to alter its personnel policies. Increased pay for enlisted men would be the most important change. There have been a number of pay raises since World War II, but they have primarily affected the men beyond their first term of service. The private's entering pay today is 20 per cent higher than that of his counterpart at the end of World War II. The value of the dollar during the same period has declined 60 per cent. In real money, today's recruit makes less than he would have 20 years ago. A private's pay is \$96.90 a month after four months' service. His total income, which includes food, lodging, clothing and medical expenses, comes to \$2,500 a year. Walter Oi estimates that a private's total income would have to be increased 68 per cent, to \$4,200 a year, to maintain a 2.65-million-man force.¹³ The estimated cost per man would be \$4,850 to maintain a force of 3 million men.

Volunteers could also be attracted by offering training in electronics, computer programming, radio technology, administration

and the numerous other skills used by the armed services. A potential volunteer could be tested before he joined, and then guaranteed training in a needed skill in which he had ability. Those men who received training which required a long period of education might be required to serve for a minimum of five years, so that the services would receive a return on their investment.

Men could also be induced to volunteer through increased veteran's benefits, increased to the point where they would pay a veteran's college tuition and expenses. Present benefits provide a maximum payment of \$100 a month, which does not even cover living expenses. The armed services could also be made more appealing if the environment of military bases were improved, with better housing, schools and entertainment facilities. These improvements are especially important if married men are to be retained.

Monetary gain, training and veteran's benefits are not the only reasons men join the armed forces; if they were, there would be almost no true volunteers today. Men join because of patriotism, family tradition, the military's image of manliness and the chance to travel. These attractions are strong, but they are presently nullified by the low salaries. With increased pay, these other aspects of military life would play an important part in recruiting volunteers.

COST

A voluntary army would cost money. The question is: how much? The varying figures suggested are educated guesses, since a volunteer force has not existed in the United States for over a quarter of a century. Walter Oi has estimated that a 2.65-million-man force, the pre-Vietnam level, would cost \$4 billion. A 3-million-man force would cost \$6.7 billion. Alan Fechter and Stuart Altman, working for the Economic Analysis Section of the Department of Defense Study of the Draft, estimated the probable cost of an all-volunteer force in the mid-1970's at between \$5.4 and \$8.3 billion. Their highest estimate, which they gave a low probability, was \$17 billion.¹⁴ Thomas D. Morris, Assistant Secretary of De-

¹³ Oi, in House Armed Services Committee, *Review*, p. 2111.

¹⁴ Stuart H. Altman and Alan E. Fechter, "Military Manpower Procurement: The Supply of Military Personnel in the Absence of a Draft," *American Economic Review*, May, 1967, p. 30.

fense (Manpower), in his testimony before the House Armed Services Committee in June, 1966, said an all-volunteer force of 2.65 million men would cost between \$4 and \$17 billion.¹⁵

These estimates do not incorporate the savings such a system would make possible. One saving would be training costs. It now takes at least \$6,000 to train a soldier.¹⁶ Oi has estimated that with the longer terms of service and the higher reenlistment rate, the number of recruits needed each year would fall 30 per cent. This would mean 166 thousand fewer new recruits each year for a 2.65-million-man force, and 225 thousand fewer for a 3-million-man body. The annual saving would be \$1 billion to \$1.3 billion. With men better trained and with higher morale, maintenance costs due to the misuse of equipment would be reduced. Tax losses, presently incurred by the drafting of men who would otherwise earn high civilian salaries on which they paid taxes, would be avoided.

THE OPPOSITION

The idea of a volunteer army and the arguments advanced in its favor are not accepted by everyone. Opposition comes from the Selective Service System, the Department of Defense, Congress, veterans' organizations, and civil rights groups. General Mark Clark, who headed the Civilian Advisory Panel on Military Manpower Procurement created by the House Armed Services Committee, said in his testimony before the Committee, that a volunteer army "... besides being exorbitantly expensive would provide no assurance that it could meet the varying qualitative and quantitative manpower requirements of the armed services. In addition, such a force of pure 'mercenaries' would have serious moral and psychological shortcomings."¹⁷ Other reasons given for re-

jecting a volunteer force are that it would be inflexible during a time of crisis; it would be staffed by Negroes and the poor; it would interfere in domestic politics; and it would not be in the American tradition.

Before evaluating the arguments against a voluntary force, the nature of the opposition and the type of arguments it espouses must be understood. Many of those who oppose a volunteer army hold political power. They do not need facts and figures to convince others that they are right. They hold power and they support the draft. It is these men who have to be convinced that the Selective Service System must be replaced. The arguments against a voluntary army are often limited to a few sentences, and are neither as long, nor as reasoned as those supporting the idea. The result is a lopsided discussion.

NOT ENOUGH VOLUNTEERS

In his testimony before the House Armed Services Committee, Assistant Secretary of Defense Morris said a volunteer force would not work because not enough men would join. He said that with a 4 per cent unemployment rate, and no changes in personnel policy, only a 2-million-man force could be maintained. An unemployment rate of 5.5 per cent would permit a 2.2 million man force.¹⁸ He said that a Census Bureau survey of 16- through 19-year-olds, asking what benefits would induce them to volunteer, indicated that increased pay, inservice training in skills useful in civilian life, and more liberal education and fringe benefits would not attract enough men. These circumstances, he felt, ruled out a volunteer force, since the peacetime armed force level was 2.65 million. Morris went on to say that even if the 2-million-man force which he felt could be maintained by volunteers were sufficient to meet our military commitments, a volunteer system would still be unsatisfactory because the men who joined would lack the education necessary to fill the positions the armed forces offered. "Reluctant" volunteers and conscripts were both necessary, in his view, to provide the armed forces with the type and number of men they needed.

¹⁵ House Armed Services Committee, *Review*, p. 9939.

¹⁶ Hatfield, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁷ House Armed Services Committee, *Extension of the Universal Military Training and Service Act*, p. 2540.

¹⁸ House Armed Services Committee, *Review*, p. 9936.

Further arguments on the inability of a volunteer armed force to attract enough men are found in Colonel Samuel Hays' article, "A Military View of Selective Service."¹⁹ He cites the 1948-1949 period, when there was no draft, as evidence that not enough men, and the wrong type of men, would join a volunteer force. He says that during that period not enough men volunteered, and that few of those who did had graduated from high school. Their technical proficiency was low. Their misbehavior was reflected in high delinquency and court-martial rates. The return to the draft system brought in the necessary men. The educational level of recruits rose, and the number of behavior problems declined.

These assertions do not show conclusively that a volunteer force would not attract enough men. The testimony of Undersecretary Morris was only a report on a report. Oi, Altman and Fechter all worked on the Department of Defense study of the draft. They all feel a voluntary armed force is possible. Their conclusions result, at least in part, from the material gathered by the Department of Defense, material which was not released. The questions asked 16- and 19-year-olds were not specific enough. It was assumed that the respondents knew that the salary of a first-year enlistee was less than \$100 a month, and that the maximum amount veterans receive for schooling is \$1,200 a year. These assumptions are open to question. The 1948-1949 experience is not relevant 20 years later. The manpower pool was smaller then, and no attempts were made to attract volunteers through higher pay and other benefits.

COST

Opponents of a volunteer force claim it would be prohibitively expensive. The high estimate of \$17 billion given by Undersecretary Morris is often used as the basis for this

claim. Professor Oi has said that this high estimate is based on an initial salary of \$7,000 in a situation where out of every five men eligible, only one would be needed. He feels his estimate of \$4 billion to maintain a force of the same size might have been in error, "but not an error of \$13 billion."²⁰ The probable cost of a volunteer force is in dispute. Different economists have different estimates. More work needs to be done in this area. When agreement is reached on the probable cost, proponents and critics can then argue whether or not a volunteer force is worth the money.

FLEXIBILITY

An all-volunteer force is also opposed on the grounds of rigidity. Former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara told the Senate Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations that without the draft it would be "very difficult, if not impossible, to guarantee that the necessary manpower would be available in time to meet the kinds of rapid changes in military requirements which we have encountered in recent years."²¹ McNamara's sweeping statement does not apply to all situations. Mark V. Pauly and Thomas D. Willett, in their article "Flexibility in Military Manpower Procurement," describe four types of crises, and the appropriate troop requirements for each.

A crisis of short duration would last a couple of weeks. Military manpower needs would be met by the troops on active duty. At the other extreme is an all-out thermonuclear war. In a crisis of this type questions about a conscript or a volunteer force would be meaningless. In a third category is a war, like World War II, which would employ vast land armies, and which would see the economy geared to war production. Such a war is unlikely, considering the present level of military technology. If such a crisis did occur, all men would serve in one way or another, and the draft would be used to allocate manpower resources between the civilian and military sectors, as it was during the Second World War. Limited war, like that in Korea and Vietnam, is the fourth

¹⁹ Colonel Samuel H. Hays, "A Military View of Selective Service," in *Tax, op. cit.*, p. 12.

²⁰ Oi, in House Armed Services Committee, *Review*, p. 2113.

²¹ Bruce K. Chapman, *The Wrong Man in Uniform* (New York: Trident, 1967), p. 114.

type. This is the situation covered by McNamara's statement. A limited war of this type does not need to rely on the draft. A volunteer force would be just as flexible.²² The level of military enlistments could be increased and sustained in the same way private industry increases its work force when it expands. In fact, a volunteer force would be better able to fight limited wars. Men would all serve at least three years. They would therefore be better trained. The high turnover rate, which now lessens combat effectiveness, would diminish. This would hopefully mean more victories and fewer casualties.

RACE AND THE POOR

Some people fear a volunteer armed force would be composed of the poor, primarily Negroes. The basis of this fear is the belief that higher wages would attract the poor, while the discipline and risk associated with military life would discourage the middle class from joining. A force such as this is opposed partly because it might elicit adverse opinion from other nations, who could accuse the United States of using the poor to fight its wars. Others fear that Negro veterans would use their military skills to foment violence at home. A third reason given is that Negroes should not fight and die out of proportion to their numbers in society as a whole, but that each racial and ethnic group should suffer proportionate losses.

The belief that a predominantly Negro army is likely is just as erroneous as the belief that the military now has a disproportionately high number of Negroes. There are about 1.5 million Negro men between the ages of 18 and 25. Present physical and educational standards disqualify 50 per cent of all Negroes for military service, leaving some 750 thousand eligible Negroes. In a 3-million-man force, Negro participation in the near future could at most be some 25 per

cent, assuming — improbably — that all Negroes would be interested in volunteering.

Other factors make it unlikely that there would be a significant increase in the number of poor, both Negro and white, in the armed forces if pay were increased. In his article, "Racial Balance and the Volunteer Army,"²³ Robert Tollison argues convincingly that increased pay would not cause a significant increase in Negro enlistments, because most Negroes who are interested in the armed forces join now. The high unemployment rate among Negro youths and the menial jobs held by many of those who do work make the armed forces an attractive choice even today. But the military needs men with technical and administrative ability, with college educations or the ability to absorb further training. Many of the poor, who might be interested in a military career, are unable to join because they lack the educational prerequisites.

Those who worry about our international image, about the return of Negroes proficient in the use of guns to the Negro community, or the disproportionate number of Negro combat deaths seem also to be saying that Negroes should be denied the chance to join the armed forces. If Negroes are interested in serving because it offers them an opportunity to improve their economic and social position, why should they be denied the chance? The attraction of the armed forces will end for the poor white and Negro when civilian society offers equal or better opportunities for success.

POLITICAL INTERFERENCE

A voluntary armed force is opposed because it might lead to the estrangement of the military from civilian society. This problem is presently avoided by the constant influx of

(Continued on page 107)

²² See Walter Oi, "The Costs and Implications of an All-Volunteer Force," in *Tax, op. cit.*, p. 247, and Mark V. Pauly and Thomas D. Willett, "Flexibility in Military Manpower Procurement" in Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

²³ See Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 149ff.

John Mitrising participated in the University of Chicago Conference on the Draft in December, 1966. He is the author of "Voluntary National Service" in Sol Tax (ed.), *The Draft* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

"Draftees . . . account for less than two out of every ten military men, but they account for four out of every ten Army combat deaths in Vietnam."

Random Selection: An Alternative to Selective Service

BY EDWARD M. KENNEDY
United States Senate

THE PATCHWORK SYSTEM of military conscription which this nation pasted together in the 1940's is finally collapsing. The pressures and strains of the current age have illuminated its infirmities, and have at the same time spawned long-overdue cries for reform.

Clearly, the war in Vietnam has focused attention on the draft and the way it works. When we are sending men to fight and die in a foreign land, the searching spotlight of national scrutiny has revealed the flaws and inequities of our military draft. Draftees make up about 16.5 per cent of our total military strength. They make up 37 per cent of total Army strength. And they make up 41 per cent of Army fatalities in South Vietnam. Draftees, then, account for less than two out of every ten military men, but they account for four out of every ten Army combat deaths in Vietnam. Against the backdrop of Vietnam, the American people are looking hard at the draft, and not liking what they see.

But even without this tragic war, reform of the military draft would be essential. The current conflict has hastened a decision which had to be faced. For the American draft system is so ramshackle, and it deals out injustice with such alarming frequency, that it is totally inadequate to our society.

Let us consider the draft as we find it today. The problems of the present system are manifold, but it is possible to catalogue the most glaring ones. To begin with, the system is inherently unfair. A young man who has the

material or intellectual resources to maintain a college career can postpone or avoid the draft, whereas a student without these advantages will be drafted. The system not only tolerates this discrimination; it invites it. What begins as a temporary deferment for a college student is easily extended into a de facto exemption. The young man who is privileged to go to college can parlay this deferment and a subsequent occupational deferment into complete avoidance of the draft, while his less fortunate colleague serves on the battlefield in Vietnam. The deferment system has an obvious built-in class bias, and it works with disturbing efficiency.

The inequity of our deferment policy is in no place clearer than in the treatment of apprentice and vocational students. Students in junior and business colleges, and students in apprentice and vocational courses are given a draft classification different from students in four-year colleges. This 2-A classification makes them more liable to the draft than the 2-S college deferment. They are treated very clearly as second-class students.

Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, in congressional testimony in 1967, said:

The question will be pressed more and more strongly of why and whether there should be any different treatment of young men who are in occupational training programs. My own answer is that there cannot justifiably be any such distinction made. It would be hard to prove, and it hasn't so far, that there is a larger value—either to the public or to the individual involved—in letting Bob finish college than in let-

ting Jim complete his apprenticeship as a carpenter or letting John work his way up the unskilled steps toward a skilled job as a punch press operator.

Unfairness is one glaring fault. Uncertainty is another. When a young man registers for the draft, he has no way of knowing when he will be called to service, or if he will be. He may spend as many as eight years in a state of suspense. Employers may not hire him, or may not promote him, because they do not know how long he will be with them. Marriage and a family may be up in the air because of the prospect of military service. Long-range plans are chancy and dangerous because the government's long-range plans for the young man in question are unformulated.

Unfairness and uncertainty are the principal faults in the present system. And add to them another inconsistency: the lack of uniform national standards.

In 1966, 39 state Selective Service directors issued 173 bulletins, directives or memorandums to their local draft boards dealing with deferment policies. Some state headquarters sent no guidance; one headquarters sent 13 directives.

Alabama and New York felt the results of college qualification tests should be mandatory; Idaho and Texas said they should only be advisory.

New York City and Oklahoma defined "full-time students" as students taking 12 semester hours of courses; Oregon and Utah said 15 hours should be the criteria; Florida adopted the definition followed by each individual college and university.

Kentucky gave any registrant attending school "below college level" a 2-A—occupational deferment; Arkansas classified any registrant in a "vocational, technical, business, trade school, or any institution of learning below college" level as 2-S.

Missouri and Illinois would not cancel induction orders if the registrant submitted a "pregnancy statement" on behalf of his wife; New Mexico would do so.

Three civilian pilots doing the same job for the same airline were called for induction;

one board deferred two of them, while another board classified the third as 1-A.

Returning Peace Corps volunteers are put at the top of the list in some states, but at the bottom of the list in others.

In truth, just as we have more than 4,000 local draft boards, so we have 4,000 standards for induction. There are no national standards to rely on. Unfairness, uncertainty and a lack of national standards are thus the basic faults of our present draft system. They are inherent in the system as it is constituted today, and in order to eliminate them we must restructure our entire draft policy. The question is: what is the best basis for a new policy, a policy consistent with the demands of this nation at this time in history?

THE IMPERATIVES OF POPULATION

In the next few years, about 1,900,000 young men will reach the age of 19 each year. Of these, 30 per cent, or 570,000, will be disqualified from military service because of physical, educational or moral deficiencies. Another 30,000 will receive hardship deferments or legal exemptions. That will leave about 1,300,000 19-year-old men available for military service and qualified for military service.

Basing our projections on past experience, the military requirements for new men might amount to 680,000. If we use past experience as a guide, we can predict that some 570,000 available young men will volunteer in a regular or an officer program. Therefore, a total of 110,000 must be inducted to fulfill our manpower needs. These men must be chosen from the 730,000 qualified men who have not enlisted. This is the imperative of numbers: our draft system must somehow choose the one young man out of the seven qualified and available.

These figures refer to a non-Vietnamese-War situation, assuming that our military strength reverts to its peacetime level of about 2.65 million men. This was the level in July, 1965. As the level increases, more qualified men enlist but more must also be involuntarily inducted. The task of choosing some men from many still prevails, and in a

wartime situation it is even more inequitable.

How can we choose some men from the many available, and choose fairly? I suggest that we do it by random selection. Various proposals for random selection have been put forth. Here is one way such a system could work:

A PLAN FOR RANDOM SELECTION

The Director of Selective Service would publish each month a list of numbers corresponding to the days in that month. There would appear on the list the numbers 1 to 31 for January, 1 to 28 or 29 for February, and so on. These numbers would be arranged not in their usual order but in a random sequence, determined perhaps by a computer. The numbers for January, for example, might be 12, 19, 8, and so forth.

As he does now, the Director of Selective Service would set monthly quotas for each state, and each state would in turn set quotas for each local board.

For each month, each local draft board would have a pool of eligible young men. These men would be either 19-year-olds, or "constructive" 19-year-olds, a term which will be explained later. In a non-war situation, this pool would have seven times as many men as are needed to make up the quota. Under the pressures of the requirements of the Vietnamese War, the pool might have two or three times as many men as are needed to meet the quota.

If a local board had a quota of 10 men for the month of January, it might have 70 men eligible for induction. To choose the 10 from the 70, it would refer to the Selective Service list published for January. In the example we are using, the first number is 12, the second one 19, the third one 8. The local board would in this case first select the man or men born on the 12th of January, then the man or men born on January 19, then the man or men born on January 8. In this fashion it would choose the 10 men to be inducted.

The remaining 60 men would not be called, but they would continue to remain liable in event of national emergency. They would

not be called in any case, however, until the pool of men in the following month had been exhausted. Thus, once the selection for a given month had been made, those not selected could be reasonably certain of their status and make their plans accordingly.

Some local boards might face the difficulty of choosing between different men born on the same day. This apparent problem could be solved by arranging the letters of the alphabet in a random sequence for each month, and then choosing on the basis of the first letter of the last name.

This is not the only method for using random selection in our Selective Service System; it is just one that seems practical. Regardless of which system is implemented, the theme of random selection should be incorporated into our draft laws. It is workable, and above all it is patently fair because it treats all draft-eligible young men impartially.

Beyond the implementation of random selection, there is a second key reform which our draft system demands: the selection of the youngest men first. Just as random selection would eliminate the unfairness of the present system, choosing the youngest first would eliminate the uncertainty.

Today, draft-eligible young men between 19 and 25 years of age are called in reverse order of age, the oldest man first. When draft calls are low, this policy drives the average age of induction to nearly 24 years. When the draft calls are high, as they are now, the average age drops to about 19 years, 6 months. But when the draft calls are reduced, as they will inevitably be, the average age will soar again.

The Defense Department revealed in 1966 that a thorough study of the effects of the oldest-first policy "clearly revealed that this policy was not desirable from any standpoint." The uncertainty that this policy generates is a strong and unfortunate factor in the lives of many young men today. They live "under the gun" for perhaps two or three years, at the very time in their lives when they are trying to make decisions about their careers and about their families.

Statistics reveal that 39 per cent of draftees in the 22- to 25-year-old group have been told at least once by a prospective employer that they could not be hired because of their draft liability. The comparable figure for those in the 19- to 21-year-old group was 27 per cent, and for those in the 17- to 18-year-old age group the figure was 11 per cent.

Furthermore, the incidence of deferment rises sharply with age. At age 19, only 3 per cent of classified registrants had dependency deferments, and only two-tenths of 1 per cent had any form of occupational deferments. But at age 24, nearly 30 per cent of all registrants were in just these two deferred categories. Thus, a rising age of induction multiplies the number of deferment decisions each local board must make, while compounding the uncertainty each registrant faces.

Looking at the system from the point of view of the military, the drafting of young men first is also favored. Combat commanders have consistently preferred 19- and 20-year-old recruits. The younger men are considerably more adaptable to combat training routines, and they are less likely to have problems with dependents.

So there is much to be said for reversing the present order of call and drafting the youngest men first. The plan would supply a basic core of men taken into the service at the time in their lives when they are most valuable to the military, and when their terms of service would be least likely to interfere with their lives. And it would provide each young man at age 19 with a clear picture of his future vis-à-vis the draft. If the youngest-first system were coupled with random selection, in peacetime every young man would know at age 19 whether he was going to serve and when he was going to serve.

COLLEGE "POSTPONEMENTS"

Perhaps the principal objection to the drafting of the youngest first comes from those who feel that a young man should be able to defer his military service in order to complete college. Too often, this deferment is parlayed into total avoidance of the draft. But it is

possible to construct a system whereby a young man, in peacetime, could complete his undergraduate education but be unable to compound deferments to the point where he escapes the military entirely.

Under the plan I am suggesting, college deferments would be replaced by college postponements. High school students would be deferred until they finished high school, as the law now provides. If a student did not complete high school until after his twentieth birthday, upon graduation—or in the event that he dropped out—he would be considered a 19-year-old for draft purposes, and be put into the pool of those qualified and available for selection. He would be a "constructive" 19-year-old.

This high school student could then have a choice either of facing the draft or of postponing his eligibility. If he chose to face the draft, he would be put into the random selection system and either be picked or passed by. But if he decided to go to college, he could postpone his draft exposure for up to four years—until he graduated from college or dropped out of college. After this college period, he would be considered with the 19-year-olds of that year in the draft pool. Under no conditions could his postponement of draft exposure extend beyond the 26-year-old cut-off date for determining draft eligibility.

Thus everyone who did not voluntarily enlist would be exposed at some point to the chance of being drafted, on an equal footing with his contemporaries.

This plan offers a high degree of flexibility to each individual in setting out his education and career plans. It offers the military a broad mix of inductees—most would go in after high school, and some after college. The wide-ranging skills the military needs

(Continued on page 106)

Edward M. Kennedy served as assistant district attorney in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, and was elected to the United States Senate from that state in 1962. He is a member of the committee on labor and public welfare.

In a survey of 91 countries, this expert says that "National Service . . . appears to be a rapidly growing phenomenon internationally . . ." with a 25 per cent growth during 1967 alone. "The success of the United States Peace Corps has seen inauguration of Peace Corps-type programs in other countries. Three—Italy, West Germany, and the Netherlands—now give exemption from military obligation to those who have successfully completed a tour of duty in their 'Peace Corps'."

National Service Programs Abroad

BY TERRENCE CULLINAN

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A CHARACTERISTIC of current history is the interdependence of nations. Actions or reactions in one country have an almost inevitable effect on others. In no field is this more evident than in the field of national defense policy.

In a survey of 91 countries, more than two-thirds were found to have some kind of compulsory military service. Some of these compulsory systems were universal, while others, like the United States Selective Service, were selective in that only some of those eligible were required to perform actual service.

Twenty-five of the 62 countries with compulsory service requirements—41 per cent—permit those wishing to do so to perform some recognized nonmilitary national service as a legally-authorized substitution for all or part of the stipulated military obligation. Five of these 25 adopted such programs only last year—an increase of 25 per cent in 12 months. These broad "national service" programs will be discussed in more detail later.

Compulsory tours of military duty range from 5 to 48 months in the 91 countries surveyed. Table I indicates representative tours of duty for selected countries. Months indicated are for minimum tours. Usually this is the Army tour; Navy tours for the most part are 12 months or more longer, and Air Force tours may also be of increased length.

Table 1

TOURS OF COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE DUTY FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES 1967

Months	Countries
5	Philippines
6	Luxembourg
9	Austria
10	Sweden
12	Belgium, New Zealand, Norway
14	Denmark
16	France, Rumania
18	East Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, West Germany
21	Greece
24	Australia, Czechoslovakia, Spain, Turkey, United States, U.S.S.R.
36	Hungary
48	China (Peking)

Extremes of ages at which individuals are subject to draft also vary considerably. Generally, Americans are liable between the ages of 18 and 35, although in fact few are called after age 26. In West Germany, ages of liability are 18 to 45; in Israel, 18 to 49; in the U.S.S.R., 17 to 50; in the Philippines, 20 to 51. The United States has one of the youngest upper-level limitations of all nations surveyed.

Systems surveyed give varying degrees of exemption for certain groups. In many countries, students have special status. They are deferred from military duty during the period

of higher education in the United States, France, the Netherlands and other countries. Chile, Colombia and Upper Volta permit students to satisfy the temporal obligation by successive summer vacation tours until the total temporal requirement has been met. Cyprus permits servicemen going on to higher education after their tour of duty to terminate active duty after 18 instead of the normal 24 months. The United States has a similar provision (generally unpublicized). Soviet soldiers who have had higher education serve only one year; others serve two. A second interesting feature of the U.S.S.R.'s system is that initial (basic) military training is undertaken prior to call-up without interrupting work or studies. Authorized military instructors conduct the initial training—which includes training in civil defense—in general education schools, specialized secondary schools, and vocational schools. Young men not in daytime educational establishments undergo initial training at special centers set up at factories, businesses, and collective farms.

The degree of total exemptions from military service varies widely from country to country. Rigid physical and academic standards in the United States make almost one in three ineligible for military duty; France and Israel, at the other extreme, require that virtually everyone serve (men only in France; both men and women in Israel). Most countries free conscientious objectors from military obligations, but require performance of some sort of alternative service. Exemptions from all obligations are generally granted to priests, monks, and similar religious figures, particularly in the Far East. Many nations relieve from their military obligation sons who are the sole support of their families or are only surviving sons of veterans killed in prior wars.

The success of the United States Peace Corps has seen inauguration of Peace Corps-type programs in other countries. Three—Italy, West Germany, and the Netherlands—now give exemption from military obligation to those who have successfully completed a tour of duty in their "Peace Corps."

Compulsory military systems may be further

categorized by the definition of "compulsory." As indicated above, the French and Israeli systems adopt a strict definition; the United States system is really compulsory only for the physically fit and minimally educated. Certain systems—the Greek, Belgian, and Indonesian are examples—occasionally conscript individuals into the military for immediate transfer to other departments of the government where they may be needed. Indonesia's law, like Israel's, requires military service of women as well as men. (Although the new Indonesian regime has not enforced this particular aspect of the law for "technical reasons," it may do so in the future.)

Certain "universal compulsory military service" laws are universal and compulsory *de jure* only. In Nicaragua, for example, although universal compulsory conscription is law, so many volunteers exist that there has never been need to conscript anyone.

COMPARING SPECIFIC APPROACHES

Further illumination of differences in military systems today may be gained by a glance at some current programs representative of differing approaches to national defense requirements. Three broad approaches are possible: an all-voluntary military; conscription of those needed to fill requirements; and conscription of those needed to fill requirements with the provision that volunteers for nonmilitary "national service" activities may be exempted from military obligations. All-voluntary programs are basically similar throughout the world; conscription systems are basically like that employed in the United States. Most variety may be observed in the various "national service" programs incorporating nonmilitary as well as military alternatives to obligatory service. Examples of each approach follow.

Two of the successful all-voluntary systems—Great Britain's and Canada's—are similar. Both convert to conscriptory systems under wartime conditions.

The British armed forces are manned entirely by voluntary recruiting. Practices vary slightly among the Army, Navy, and Air Force components, but basically a man enlists for a

minimum original period of six years. This period can be extended by increments of three years or multiples thereof at any time during his service, subject to his continued fitness in every respect and the demands of the service.

Recruits are obtained by all means, from the "satisfied soldier" bringing in his friends to sophisticated advertising campaigns. No direct use is made of the government television network in this respect, but the services' public relations staffs do their utmost to ensure that the military is kept in the public eye and that the image maintained is a good one.

Generally, the British military will guarantee that a volunteer can serve 22 years and then qualify for a pension. The Army and Navy are just about meeting their enlistment quotas at present, while the Royal Air Force has had so many volunteers that it has had to curtail recruiting. One reason may be that the minimum tour in the RAF is only five years, compared to six for the Army and nine for the Navy.

Training and duty functions do not differ greatly in principle from the methods adopted and used by the United States military, although there are some differences in detail. Present strength of the British armed forces is 419,300, plus 10,000 Indian Gurkhas.

Canada employs an all-voluntary system similar to Britain's. Considerable recruitment effort is concentrated on 16-year-olds, who may serve for a year as apprentices and then perform the initial five-year tour required. Canada has no trouble filling its service quotas at present, and recruiting is much less intense than in England. The Canadian Army and Air Force have said that an all-out campaign on the British model could increase their military manpower by 30 to 40 per cent without resorting to compulsion.

Studies have repeatedly indicated that Canadian military pay and benefits are superior to those in the United States armed forces. However, Canadian military planners do not believe that under current pay scales

they could keep the same proportion of their population in uniform as does the United States.

Compulsory systems with no alternative service provisions are most prevalent in East Europe and Latin America. Generally, they are straightforward military tours of duty consisting of a set period of active service, an approximately equivalent reserve obligation, and then discharge. Switzerland provides a unique variation among straight compulsory systems.

Article 18 of the Swiss Federal Constitution says simply: "Every Swiss is bound to serve in the Army."¹ This obligation lasts—literally, as will be seen below—from age 20 to age 50. Of the total male population of Switzerland, approximately 50 per cent are of military age: 80 per cent of these belong to the army, 16 per cent to support services, and the 4 per cent who cannot serve due to extreme physical or mental disability must pay a special tax.

Every 20-year-old Swiss first attends the "Recruits School" for 118 days (approximately 4 months), which provides his basic training. After finishing his initial training, the young soldier returns home with his personal weapon, ammunition, equipment, and uniform. He is responsible for looking after them until he receives his discharge from the Army at the age of 50. A large number of soldiers from mechanized units obtain a service vehicle, which they are allowed to use in civilian life, and which they must bring with them in good working order whenever they are called on to do active duty.

Military proficiency is maintained during the 30 years' service in several ways. Between the ages of 20 and 32, annual 20-day refresher courses are compulsory. Between the ages of 33 and 42, a total of six weeks' training must be taken, and a final 13 days is required between ages 43 and 50. Local authorities are obliged by law to provide billets for troop use during these courses. The Army has the right to use both public and private land as training areas and shooting ranges.

Formal courses are supplemented by continuation courses conducted by military societies and officers. Most courses are volun-

¹ The word "male" is understood. Governmentally, the Swiss are misogynists: women cannot even vote.

tary, but well attended. Sunday shooting practice is compulsory for all ages, and proficiency is encouraged by numerous competitions arranged by the military and subsidized by the government.

Approximately 10 per cent of the Swiss population is in the armed forces at any one time. In times of peace, 250,000–300,000 men are called up for annual training. Approximately 30 per cent of the Swiss federal budget is devoted to the military (this is only 2.4 per cent of the national income, however). All serious questions affecting the Army are widely discussed: the Swiss citizen liable for military service regards himself as directly involved and more or less an expert.

ALTERNATIVES TO COMPULSORY SERVICE

As mentioned earlier, of the 62 countries with some form of compulsory service, 25–41 per cent—have alternative nonmilitary service options as part of their system.

The best known program of this type is Israel's. The Israeli example, however, is not typical: Israel's military requirements are unique.

Israel's military service is obligatory for all young men and women at the age of 18, for 26 and 20 months, respectively. Israelis of both sexes have the opportunity to volunteer for a special *Nahal* program. Following a few months of intensive military training, they are assigned in groups for a year to agricultural villages to gain practical experience in farming. They then set out on their own to establish new villages in barren areas or to work in existing communities that need their help. Women may also volunteer for straight teaching service in rural or depressed areas. A portion of the country's need for more teachers has been filled in this manner.

Israel's armed forces are among the central educational institutions of that country. About half of Israel's young people come from depressed areas, and lack the cultural or vocational education to live useful lives among the other Israelis. The Israeli National Service provides integration and education through contact and teamwork projects with the more

advanced young people. In addition, it provides basic education and job training schools as the last three months of service. These schools are staffed by other servicemen and women. Through them, disadvantaged national youth become productive.

In France, military service is obligatory for all males. Within the military framework, however, three alternative service opportunities are offered: overseas development work, civil defense service, and work under conscientious objector status. Only 54 persons of a total service force of 270,000, however, are currently classified as conscientious objectors. A fourth program involves highly qualified graduates of technical universities, who serve in civilian capacities as researchers for the Ministry of Defense, and never enter the military at all.

After two months' basic military training, French recruits may volunteer for assignments as teachers or technical advisors in French-speaking areas of the world. The Army has more volunteers for this program than the approximately 10,000 men it needs. Hence former teachers or college graduates are usually selected.

The number of selectees varies according to the Army's military needs. Participants are provisionally released from the Army and assigned to the ministry of cooperation (under which the French version of the Peace Corps—the *Association Française des Volontaires du Progrès*—also operates). The ministry pays the transportation of the soldiers and living allowances ranging from \$200–\$280 per month. Teachers generally operate from French army bases, mostly in Africa. They wear civilian clothes and they teach in both elementary and secondary schools, depending on their qualifications. After one year of teaching they return to France, revert to army control, and are discharged.

The Technical Assistance Service is composed of those program participants going to French Departments and to the French Territories Overseas. Other French-speaking countries (Laos, Malagasy Republic, Congo and so on) request participants from the Technical Cooperation Service.

The obligatory 16-month military tour may also be satisfied by service in the Civilian Defense Service as a civil servant, policeman, engineer, health inspector, architect, technician or civil defense specialist, primarily in depressed regions. During wars or emergencies, this service staffs the Defense Corps and carries on tasks of civil defense for the whole population. The service is under the control of the Minister of the Interior. Young Frenchmen with minor physical disabilities disqualifying them from national military service are among the approximately 500 men placed in the Defense Service.

IRAN'S PROGRAM

All Iranian men are subject to the draft upon reaching age 21. Twice each year high-school graduates reaching this age are recruited into the Army, the Literacy Corps, the Health Corps, and the Agricultural Extension and Development Corps. Virtually all 11,000 of those recruited into one of the Corps are volunteers. Corpsmen receive 16 weeks of training in military and nonmilitary subjects. Military training takes up about one-third the period and includes all subjects from parade-ground drilling to weapons and small-unit tactics. Concurrently, two-thirds of this period is devoted to lectures and discussions on nonmilitary subjects. These include classroom management, methods of teaching Persian, arithmetic, science, educational psychology, community development, rural sociology and village laws. There is also one week of training with special emphasis on recreation, audio-visual education, and handicraft teaching.

Barracks, subsistence, uniforms, weapons, and salaries during this sixteen-week period are supplied by the Army. The ministries of education, interior, health, agriculture, justice, and plan organization are each responsible for recruiting and paying their own instructors and furnishing their own teaching materials. During and after training, the program is coordinated at levels from county official to the National High Council of Education, chaired by the Prime Minister and including the ministers of the above-cited

ministries. To ensure enthusiasm and attention during the training, as well as to reward ability with responsibility, a final examination concludes training. Almost 5 per cent attain the rank of 1st sergeant, 10 per cent 2nd sergeant, and the remainder become 3rd sergeants.

When trained, Corpsmen are sent to individual communities for the remaining 14 months of their term of service. During this period they are directly under the supervision of the ministry of education. They are in uniform. Insofar as possible, Corpsmen are sent to villages of their own districts where they will be familiar both to the people and with the special needs of the region. Before a Corpsman is assigned, the Director of Education in that locality sees to it that a classroom is prepared for him and, if he is a teacher, that not less than 25 pupils have enrolled in the class.

Local communities must request the appointment of a Corpsman. They must agree to provide living accommodations, a large room to be used as a classroom and classroom furniture. Financial contributions of local people have thus far exceeded the cost of the Corpsmen to the government (village contributions are calculated in the construction of buildings, feeder roads, bridges, baths and health facilities; generally, similar facilities could not have been provided by the government for three times the amount).

The Corpsman motivates local people to help in community development and improvement of living conditions. He shows the way and helps them get assistance from government agencies. He helps organize a town council, Parent-Teachers Association, local court facility, and agricultural cooperative. He is essentially a multi-purpose village worker.

More local facilities have been built in the past two years than in the previous 50 years in economically depressed regions of Iran. Most surprising of all, in more than two years of field work, the spirit of cooperation between the Army and the various government agencies involved has been outstanding. There has been no real misunderstanding.

As a result of the operations of the first three groups of the Literacy Corps:

226,170 boys and girls and 12,681 adults in depressed regions were made literate;

3,818 elementary schools, having two to six rooms, were built in poverty pockets under Literacy Corps guidance and then staffed by Corps teachers;

3,000 additional depressed-area communities have had suitable existing buildings repaired, prepared for classroom purposes, and staffed by the Corps;

200 hygienic rural plumbing systems and 143 bridges were built or made usable; and

Nearly 1,000 miles of feeder roads were levelled for communication between depressed areas and the outside world.

The government of Iran asked all governments to join in forming a UNESCO-sponsored international Literacy Corps to eradicate educational deprivation everywhere. Iran gives one day's military budget (\$700,000) each year to UNESCO as both a funding tool for the program and an example to other governments. The Director General of UNESCO, Rene Maheu, stated on receipt of the first such gift:

When, not far from here, we see to what use arms are being put in the very place where education is sorely needed—here is something that must touch our conscience. May this idea, this appeal, be taken up as it deserves.

The Iranian Army, it has been said, now loads children instead of guns.

The Army of the Ivory Coast, possibly Black Africa's most successful nation, has developed a relationship with that country's Civic Service similar to the one between the Iranian Army and its own civil components. The Ivorian version was developed with the help of the Israelis.

² As he announced his commission to study the draft, President Johnson asked the specific question: "... Can we—without harming national security—establish a practical system of nonmilitary alternatives to the draft?" The commission recommended further study, stating that it considered national service of great value. The late Senator Robert Kennedy and Senator Edward Kennedy cosponsored a bill in the U. S. Senate to finance such a study. Earlier, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz separately called for programs of universal service incorporating both military and nonmilitary activities.

The Ivorian Army provides instructors and financing for the Civic Service; both are administered by the same ministry. Twenty to thirty volunteers from individual Ivorian villages are taken as a group into the Civic Service. They are trained for six months in community development techniques, and then returned—again as a group—to their villages to complete their tour of duty. Village elders help in the initial selection process and hence potential hostility toward the "special" group upon its return is avoided.

Trained volunteers are supported by interim visits from their Army instructors, who also supply some of the equipment needed for development work. Approximately 1,200 Ivorians choose to serve in the Civic Service each year; the total cost of the Service runs about \$300,000 out of a defense budget of \$9 million. The cost of the service in terms of the national budget is about 0.1 per cent.

NATIONAL SERVICE PROGRAMS

"National Service"—the addition of voluntary nonmilitary service options to a previously all-military compulsory system—deserves special mention here. It appears to be a rapidly growing phenomenon internationally, with the previously cited 25 per cent growth in number of countries with such programs during 1967 alone. There has been pressure in the United States² for adoption of national service options in this country to include the Peace Corps, VISTA, the Job Corps, and a broad range of private programs.

Several additional countries are considering some sort of National Service program. Regional patterns may be emerging. In East Africa, the tendency is toward a military framework for nonmilitary service, after the Israeli mode. In West Africa, on the other

(Continued on page 110)

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MISCELLANEOUS

FRANCE SINCE THE REVOLUTION.

By DONALD HARVEY. (New York: The Free Press, Macmillan, 1968, 366 pages, bibliography and index, \$8.95 hardbound, \$4.50 paper.)

Good, readable histories of contemporary France are always useful. Professor Donald Harvey has given us such a study, rendering justice to one of the most action-packed adventure stories of the past two centuries: the tale of the three monarchies, five republics and two empires which reigned if they did not always rule over the hexagonal land between the Atlantic, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Alps and the Rhine.

Six colorful chapters take us from the Jacobins to Viet Minh, from Louis XVI to Charles de Gaulle, interweaving politics, cultural developments and social and cultural factors. Clear, measured, taking account of various current interpretations before advancing his own, the author's light touch and welcome wit add a personal and very attractive ironic tone to a book both easy and profitable to read.

Eugen Weber

University of California, Los Angeles

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CURRENT DOCUMENTS

Eisenhower's Farewell Address

On January 17, 1961, President Dwight D. Eisenhower addressed the nation in a farewell speech. His warning about military influence, given just three days before the inauguration of his successor, President John F. Kennedy, has been cited on many occasions. Excerpts from his address follow:

Three days from now, after half a century in the service of our country, I shall lay down the responsibilities of office as, in traditional and solemn ceremony, the authority of the Presidency is vested in my successor. . . .

We now stand, ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of them involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this pre-eminence we yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches, and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world peace and human betterment.

Throughout America's adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among people and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance, or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt both at home and abroad.

* * *

A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

Our military organization today bears little

relation to that known by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time, and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources, and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic

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RANDOM SELECTION

(Continued from page 96)

would continue to be made available to it.

This system would also assure the military of a continuing supply of officers. Nearly 80 per cent of each year's new officers enter military service from college sources. About half are ROTC students, and the other half enroll in a wide variety of other officer-training programs, either during college or upon graduation. With a student postponement feature in effect, young men could still go to college before their military service, and the military could still have access to ROTC students for their officer ranks.

Giving students the chance to postpone their military service has one basic drawback: it enables a young man to put off military service when, as during the Vietnamese War, he may become involved in combat. To plug this obvious loophole, the system should include a discontinuance of student postponements in the event of a shooting war. The postponement system might therefore include this provision:

During any period when the armed forces are sustaining combat casualties, the President would be required to determine the total number of combat casualties each month. He would then put this figure beside the total number of registrants each month. If the number of casualties reached 10 per cent of the number of draftees, then the optional student postponement would be discontinued. But the discontinuance would take place only when the 10 per cent figure was exceeded for three consecutive months. And when the discontinuance did take place, it would stay in effect for the following 12 months.

With such a provision in effect, student postponements would be practical and fair. College could not be used to avoid military service, but military service would not necessarily interfere with college.

This option to postpone military service would of course also apply to students in junior and business colleges, and students in

apprentice and vocational courses. Our new draft laws should not perpetuate "second class students."

Together with the changes already mentioned, draft reform should include the establishment of national standards. Accidents of geography should not determine who goes to war and who does not. We should not let 4,000 local boards establish 4,000 sets of standards. The standards for induction and deferment should be established by the President, communicated to the local boards, and administered uniformly by these local boards.

I have introduced legislation in the Senate which calls for a comprehensive reform of our military draft system. The changes I have mentioned above are included within it. Also included are provisions to end most occupational deferments, to clarify the procedures on hardship deferments, to broaden the conscientious objectors classification, and to make other changes in the law.

But the most important changes we can make are the three I have discussed above—instituting a random selection system, drafting the youngest first, and establishing national Selective Service standards.

The system we devise to choose which men shall serve and which men shall be passed over must be the fairest system we can devise. Our present system is not, and we must reform it.

THE CASE FOR COMPULSORY NATIONAL SERVICE

(Continued from page 85)

There is widespread objection today among young people to any form of compulsion. But it should be realized that only by making national service compulsory can we assure to everyone the rewards and opportunities of national service. It is only when the school system is required to teach every child that we obtain teacher services for housebound children, and services for the blind and deaf and mentally defective. National service would be like a school in which enrollment was required, maintenance was provided and

subjects were all elective. A wide range of choice could be substituted for the gross inequity of Selective Service, under which only a few are chosen, and have little or no choice of the kind of service they will perform.

A national service in which all—no matter how deficient in education or defective in body—participated would make a tremendous contribution to citizen-knowledge of the country and citizen-participation in the benefits of our increasingly affluent but inequitable society.

A VOLUNTARY ARMY

(Continued from page 92)

draftees and “reluctant” volunteers, who retain their civilian views while in the armed forces. Chief Counsel for the House Armed Services Committee John Blandford said:

A great virtue of our present system is the annual turnover of six hundred thousand to seven hundred thousand men per year, which insures constant civilian influence. I don't care how strong your democracy is, a professional career force of three million men under arms—with primary loyalty to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—is something you should think about.²⁴

Political interference and coups d'état by the military are not related to the way military manpower is recruited. In Greece and Argentina, the armies supporting the military coups were conscripted. The source of political intrigue is usually the officer corps. A change in the way enlisted men are recruited would not affect our officers. Except for doctors and dentists, the United States has always had a professional officer corps. The present system of recruitment through ROTC and OCS prevents the selection of officers from a small elite group. The national character of the officer group could be maintained in a voluntary force by recruiting officers in much the same way.

²⁴ Jacquin Sanders, *The Draft and the Vietnam War* (New York: Walker and Co., 1966), p. 97.

²⁵ Civilian Advisory Panel on Military Manpower Procurement, *Report to Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 18.

Those who fear political interference cite no past incidents which would support their fears. This is significant, since for much of our history the armed forces were manned by volunteers. The confrontation between President Harry S Truman and General Douglas MacArthur occurred while the draft was in effect. Why then, it may be asked, is a volunteer force less reliable now than it was when there was no draft?

UNDEMOCRATIC

A final argument against a volunteer armed force is that the elimination of the draft would endanger our democratic heritage, with its concept of the citizen-soldier. The panel headed by General Mark Clark said in its report that a volunteer force would “abandon the unifying influences of the nation placing its faith in its own citizenry to rally to its defense when the national security is threatened.”²⁵ The draft, according to this view, is necessary to induce citizens to serve in the nation's defense. This position can be viewed as confirmation of Kenneth Boulding's statement that the draft is the threat system of the state turned against its own citizens.

Justification of the draft on the grounds that it is necessary to rally citizens to defend the nation could conceivably lead to a situation where men would be drafted to fight a war most Americans did not believe in, because those in power felt that national security was threatened. The concept of majority support would be subordinated to the leaders' interpretation of national security, which demanded conscription. The war in Vietnam, some people believe, provides such a situation.

ALTERNATIVES

A volunteer armed force is not the only alternative to Selective Service. A lottery, which is favored by the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service and also by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, and compulsory national service, whose best known advocate is anthropologist Margaret Mead, are two other possibilities. In a lottery, the de-

cision as to who will serve is decided by a machine which picks names at random from the pool of eligible men.* Deferments are eliminated. All those in the pool face possible selection on an equal basis. Compulsory national service would require all men (in some proposals all women as well) to serve two years in some socially useful activity. One such activity would be military service.

The lottery and compulsory national service are similar in many ways to the Selective Service. In both instances, the conscription of military manpower would continue in a different guise. Some men would still be forced to serve and perhaps die, while others remained safe at home. The implicit tax argument applies to both alternatives. The problems of rapid military manpower turnover and low reenlistment would still exist. The lottery has wide support because it eliminates local draft boards and deferments. But it is questionable whether selection by a machine is any fairer than selection by men. The local boards, for all their faults, rely on human judgment in making their selection. A lottery denies thought, and leaves selection to chance.

Compulsory national service would impose equity by forcing all to serve. It is equitable in the same way as making everyone starve to quiet the complaints of a hungry mob. The President's Commission recognized these drawbacks when it said that compulsory national service lacked a "constitutional basis,"²⁶ meaning it would probably be rejected by the Supreme Court for violating the constitutional provision against involuntary servitude.

A volunteer armed force, the lottery and compulsory national service are all proposals to replace Selective Service. They will all remain only proposals until several problems are solved. The real barriers to change are the bureaucracies of the Selective Service System and the Defense Department, and conflicting views on how individuals may

exercise their right of free choice in a democracy. General Hershey has worked with the Selective Service System since 1936. He and his subordinates have a vested interest in the continued operation of the organization. In addition, the Selective Service System has been drafting men for so long that officials in the system, as well as bureaucrats at the Department of Defense and many of the Congressmen and Senators they deal with, feel the draft is tried and proven and should remain, even if it has defects. The draft is the way military manpower has been recruited for over 25 years. It is a system bureaucrats know. Change endangers their positions, requires thinking and alters time-worn procedures.

The draft is democratic to men like General Hershey who believe that individual liberty and personal belief must be subordinated to the group. In testimony before a congressional committee, Hershey said:

I do not want to go along with a volunteer basis. I think a fellow should be compelled to become better and not let him use his discretion whether he wants to get smarter, more healthy or more honest. . . .²⁷

"Better" in this case is Hershey's value judgment, not that of the fellow who has to serve. This view contrasts with that of supporters of a voluntary force. Senator Mark Hatfield, one such supporter, has said:

. . . personal liberty is not a privilege. It is not a concession granted by Government that must be paid for by military service. It is the guaranteed right of democracy. It must not be compromised.²⁸

No change in the Selective Service System will occur until men like Hershey are either convinced of the need for change or are removed from office. The conclusions of General Clark's panel, the congressional response to the report of the President's Commission embodied in the 1967 draft legislation, and the April, 1968, Presidential report on the commission's recommendations, which supported General Hershey's position, indicate the power of Selective Service supporters, and underscore the obstacles facing those who wish to change the present system.

* *Editor's note:* See the articles by Edward Kennedy and Margaret Mead in this issue.

²⁶ National Advisory Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²⁷ Hatfield, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

SOCIETY, THE INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL SERVICE

(Continued from page 83)

A NATIONAL SERVICE MODEL

What sort of wholly "democratic" National Service system along these lines can one then envision? Anybody can play this game; it is special fun because none of us has the power to do any harm. Briefly, I would say that each individual would be recognized as having his professional or vocational position, which would earn him his bread, and his avocational "service" activities, as well as his personal, hobby, and recreational interests. There would be the same kind of free market for the service activities as for jobs, and they would be in every kind of agency that is in the public interest, on every level from the neighborhood to the international. The computer would match people to needs, record performance, and provide as much of a public "score card" as an individual wanted.

Extracurricular activities of a socially-useful nature would be included at least from the upper-grades on. All contributions of time, energy, money would "count" in perhaps a composite yearly, and perhaps lifetime, score, which could be either private to the individual or public. A full-time but low-paid service activity would be defined as the voluntary percentage—the difference between what the job would be paid professionally and what the volunteer receives.

WEIGHTED OPINIONS

Part of the revolutionary change to voluntarism and participation in decision-making would involve also the individual's views on issues; and it might well be that his opinions would count more with the weight of his citizen score. (Voting, and political participation of any kind, could of course be included in the program.) Thus an actively participating citizen would have more social power, and perhaps political power, depending upon the quantity and quality of his voluntary activities. Military service could

well be part of the system; the soldier's points for "service" supplementing his pay. All would be as voluntary as 39 flavors of ice cream.

That is sufficient for a beginning, with but one concluding item for private thought. In January of 1967, Chicago suffered a phenomenal snow storm, which halted the life of the city for some days. Nobody could move around the city, and television was the medium for help to the sick, the old, the isolated. There was no possibility of clearing any but the principal streets, and for a week or more most residential streets were impassable. It seemed obvious at the very beginning that since everybody was immobilized at home—schools, stores, factories were closed—the resident manpower should be mobilized to do something together to clear the streets. It was suggested to the mayor that he bring to television the engineers who could advise us how to do this. The mayor and his cabinet of professionals refused, saying that somebody might get a heart attack, and the healthy young were left without leadership or exercise. Meanwhile from day to day there were stories that everything was under control; equipment was coming from other cities; more men were being hired; and so on. And the street-clearing budget mounted. The mayor pleaded with the people to stay home, while the professionals attempted the impossible. In the end the snow turned to ice and it was April before it was gone.

In the society of tomorrow, the attitude and expectations of public officials—under pressure of the difficulties of governing a metropolis as well as the demand for participation of people—will change rapidly. In emergencies, appropriate people will be mobilized in appropriate ways. But more important, public education-through-action will become a continuous process. In tomorrow's world, the whole citizenry under the positive leadership of elected officials will be making policy by participation not only in developing the system, but in living it out from day to day. Only so can we meet the challenge of this century.

NATIONAL SERVICE AND AMERICAN TRADITION

(Continued from page 77)

lack employable skills would be eligible to devote their entire term of national service, if required, to acquiring these vital human needs. Such reclamation would wipe out our greatest social loss as well as the most acute human despair.

Buried in the deep slums or the rural backwaters, candidates for the human wastebin cannot be reached by appeals to join a voluntary system. Only by enrolling the disadvantaged—along with all others—could they be convinced that they were being accepted by society.

Conversely, many youths among the most affluent would also be deaf to the appeal of a voluntary service. Purpose and commitment are their aims, even when unrecognized. Yet they reject the commitments and distrust the blandishments of their elders. They will not volunteer.

In the past, economic compulsion, the need for food and shelter and clothing, has called forth the ability of all who were able. For the modern affluent, the age of affluence has destroyed the traditional mainsprings of ambition, industry and service. Only by exposing the affluent youth to the depth and breadth of the world's needs for service can they be turned to the commitment they seek.

There are many who have found this commitment today, in our schools and hospitals and elsewhere. Their early training and experience fortunately brought them face to face with the urgent and unmet needs of mankind. They found they were needed.

The very word compulsion raises the hackles. Yet it is neither good nor evil save in context. Its evil connotation is associated with regimentation and conformity as opposed to individualism and individuality.

Absolute individualism died with the first acceptance of parental responsibility. It staged further retreat with each step forward in social responsibility. National service is only one more step in this process, and one

that leaves wide scope for the individual personality.

In such a program, no talent and no interest need be outlawed; there would be room for the individual bent of every national serviceman. Preliminary orientation would teach every young serviceman that some form of organized society is essential to human survival, and is essentially a coming together for mutual support. He would emerge with one precept echoing in his ears: "The world needs you for what you are and what only you can do. And you need the world."

NATIONAL SERVICE PROGRAMS ABROAD

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hand, national service is built around the cooperative. A youth serves in a national service club for two years. He may thereafter remain in his particular field for a career.

Most African programs are directed toward turning unskilled youth into skilled members of growing societies. Countries in medium development stages—Chile, Colombia, Ethiopia, Iran, Korea, Panama, Peru, and Turkey—are utilizing university students in summer national service programs. Ethiopia has made such service mandatory for university graduation. The advanced countries have gone the furthest toward full incorporation of nonmilitary programs into their obligatory national services; and their volunteers, to complete the pattern, now train the volunteers of less-advanced countries in giving effective national service.

National service programs are now under consideration in four more countries. The Algerian army is a member of the National Commission of Literacy, charged with executing the National Literacy Campaign of the next ten years.

Costa Rica has no obligatory military service. Despite this tradition, the country is now considering a project to make mandatory some type of community service through the National Youth Movement.

The government of Jordan is considering a plan to incorporate all young Jordanians in

a national service program lasting from ages 17-21. The first two years would see strictly military service. The most talented would then remain in the military for two more years; the least talented would join the labor force needed for vital development projects. The Army would get the funds saved through the government's use of this inexpensive labor. These funds in turn would cover the military's cost in training manpower which would not otherwise be necessary for strictly military purposes.

Lebanon, like Costa Rica, has no military obligation but also is considering an obligatory community service corps.

Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations apparently approves of the national service pattern. He looks forward to the time when

... people *everywhere* will consider that one or two years' work for the cause of development, either in a far away country or in a depressed area of his own community, is a normal part of one's education.

Urged on by Thant and encouraged by the success of some of the existing programs described above, national governments which have not yet decided to incorporate alternative nonmilitary service programs in their military defense systems have in some instances begun government-supported nonmilitary programs separate from the military. These include "export" programs, whose volunteers serve full-time for at least a year outside their own countries; "domestic" volunteers, educated and skilled individuals who serve within their own countries both full and part time for up to two years; and "youth service" volunteers, undereducated, disadvantaged youth serving for up to two years within their own countries in programs which give them education and skill training.

Forty-six countries have one or more of these programs under government support. Program sizes vary considerably. The 18 youth "export" programs range in size from 12,000 for the United States and 2,500 each for France and Italy to 20 for Austria and a 3-man program sponsored by Lichtenstein. Fourteen "domestic" programs include the

large programs of the United States (18,000), Iran (11,000), and Nepal (5,000) and the minuscule efforts of Thailand (50) and the Dominican Republic (30). The United States, again, has the largest of the 20 "Youth Service" forces (28,500), followed by Kenya and Mali, with 4,500 each, and ranging downward to Togo (100) and Gabon (50).

The lessons of a comparative study of military systems are clear: no one system can be uniformly applied, and an individual country's system may have to be adjusted to move with the times. The politics and philosophies of individual nations play a large role in determining their manpower organization, but foreign experiences can be valuable measuring sticks for nations considering such adjustments.

EISENHOWER'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

(Continued from page 105)

processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the federal government. . . .

The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present—and is gravely to be regarded.

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other

forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system—ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.

* * *

Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose differences, not with arms, but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has

witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war—as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years—I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But, so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road. . . .

The Draft Card Burning Case, 1968

On May 27, 1968, the Supreme Court ruled 7 to 1 to uphold a 1965 law making it a crime to burn or otherwise destroy or mutilate a draft card. Excerpts from the Court's decision follow:

David Paul O'Brien and three companions burned their Selective Service registration certificates on the steps of the South Boston Courthouse.

For this act, O'Brien was indicted, tried, convicted, and sentenced. He did not contest the fact that he had burned the certificate. He stated in argument to the jury that he burned the certificate publicly to influence others to adopt his antiwar beliefs, as he put it, "so that other people would re-evaluate their positions with Selective Service, with the armed forces, and re-evaluate their place in the culture of today, to hopefully consider my position."

O'Brien argued that the 1965 amendment prohibiting the knowing destruction or mutilation of certificates was unconstitutional because it was enacted to abridge free speech, and because it served no legitimate legislative purpose. The District Court rejected these arguments, holding that the statute on its face did not abridge First Amendment rights, that the court was not competent to inquire into the motives of Congress in enacting the 1965 amendment, and that the amendment was a reasonable exercise of the power of Congress to raise armies. . . .

Congress demonstrated its concern that certificates issued by the Selective Service System might be abused well before the 1965 amendment here challenged. Under section (B) (1)–(5) of the 1948 act, it was unlawful (1) to transfer a certi-

cate to aid a person in making false identification; (2) to possess a certificate not duly issued with the intent of using it for false identification; (3) to forge, alter, "or in any manner" change a certificate or any notation validly inscribed thereon; (4) to photograph or make an imitation of a certificate for the purpose of false identification, and (5) to possess a counterfeited or altered certificate. . . .

We note at the outset that the 1965 amendment plainly does not abridge free speech on its face, and we do not understand O'Brien to argue otherwise. Amended Section 12 (B) (3) on its face deals with conduct having no connection with speech. It prohibits the knowing destruction of certificates issued by the Selective Service System, and there is nothing necessarily expressive about such conduct.

O'Brien nonetheless argues that the 1965 amendment is unconstitutional in its application to him, and is unconstitutional as enacted because what he calls the "purpose" of Congress was "to suppress freedom of speech." We consider these arguments separately.

O'Brien first argues that the 1965 amendment is unconstitutional as applied to him because his act of burning his registration certificate was protected "symbolic speech" within the First Amendment. His argument is that the freedom of expression which the First Amendment guarantees includes all modes of "communications of ideas by conduct,"

and that his conduct is within this definition because he did it in "demonstration against the war and against the draft."

We cannot accept the view that an apparently limitless variety of conduct can be labeled "speech" whenever the person engaging in the conduct intends thereby to express an idea. However, even on the assumption that the alleged communicative element in O'Brien's conduct is sufficient to bring into play the First Amendment, it does not necessarily follow that the destruction of a registration certificate is constitutionally protected activity.

This court has held that when "speech" and "non-speech" elements are combined in the same course of conduct, a sufficiently important governmental interest in regulating the non-speech element can justify incidental limitations on First Amendment freedoms.

To characterize the quality of the governmental interest which must appear, the Court has employed a variety of descriptive terms: compelling; substantial; subordinating; paramount; cogent; strong.

We think it clear that a government regulation is sufficiently justified if it is within the constitutional power of the Government; if it furthers an important or substantial governmental interest; if the governmental interest is unrelated to the suppression of free expression; and if the incidental restriction on alleged First Amendment freedom is no greater than is essential to the furtherance of that interest. We find that the 1965 amendment to Section 462 (B) (3) of the Universal Military Training and Service Act meets all of these requirements, and consequently that O'Brien can be constitutionally convicted for violating it.

The constitutional power of Congress to raise and support armies and to make all laws necessary and proper to that end is broad and sweeping. The power of Congress to classify and conscript manpower for military service is "beyond question."

The issuance of certificates indicating the registration and eligibility classification of individuals is a legitimate and substantial administrative aid in the functioning of this system, and legislation to insure the continuing availability of issued certificates serves a legitimate and substantial purpose in the system's administration.

O'Brien's argument to the contrary is necessarily premised upon his unrealistic characterization of Selective Service certificates. He essentially adopts the position that such certificates are so many pieces of paper designed to notify registrants of their registration or classification, to be retained or tossed in the wastebasket according to the convenience or taste of the registrant. Once the registrant has received notification, according to this view, there is no reason for him to retain the certificates.

The many functions performed by Selective Service certificates establish beyond doubt that Congress has a legitimate and substantial interest in preventing their wanton and unrestrained destruction and assuring their continuing availability by punishing people who knowingly and wilfully destroy or mutilate them. . . .

We think it apparent that the continuing availability to each registrant of his Selective Service certificate substantially furthers the smooth and proper functioning of the system that Congress has established to raise armies. We think it also apparent that the nation has a vital interest in having a system for raising armies that functions with maximum efficiency and is capable of easily and quickly responding to continually changing circumstances. For these reasons, the Government has a substantial interest in assuring the continuing availability of issued Selective Service certificates.

It is equally clear that the 1965 amendment specifically protects this substantial governmental interest. We perceive no alternative means that would more precisely and narrowly assure the continuing availability of issued Selective Service certificates than a law which prohibits their wilful mutilation or destruction. The 1965 amendment prohibits such conduct and does nothing more.

In other words, both the governmental interest and the operation of the 1965 amendment are limited to the noncommunicative aspect of O'Brien's conduct. The governmental interest and the scope of the 1965 amendment are limited to preventing a harm to the smooth and efficient functioning of the Selective Service System. When O'Brien deliberately rendered unavailable his registration certificate, he wilfully frustrated this governmental interest. For this noncommunicative impact of his conduct, and for nothing else, he was convicted.

O'Brien finally argues that the 1965 amendment is unconstitutional as enacted because what he calls the "purpose" of Congress was "to suppress freedom of speech." We reject this argument because under settled principles the purpose of Congress, as O'Brien uses that term, is not a basis for declaring this legislation unconstitutional.

JUSTICE DOUGLAS' DISSENT

The Court states that the constitutional power of Congress to raise and support armies is "broad and sweeping" and that Congress's power "to classify and conscript manpower for military service is beyond question." . . . The underlying and basic problem in this case, however, is whether conscription is permissible in the absence of a declaration of war. That question has not been briefed, nor was it presented in oral argument; but it is, I submit, a question upon which the litigants and the country are entitled to a ruling. It is time that we made a ruling. . . .

BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from page 104)

A GREAT SOCIETY? Edited by Bertram Gross. (New York: Basic Books, 1966. 350 pages and index, \$8.50.)

This is political commentary with a difference. Setting aside dollar signs and head counts, 12 articulate intellectuals survey the American scene with untrammelled gusto. While sociology undergirds their arguments, philosophy is allowed full sweep.

Bertram Gross is not just being amusing when he points out that the paleontologists have recently "discovered the missing link between the apes and civilized man: *us*." He is, rather, summarizing an unstated agreement among his coauthors. Man's age-old reverence for things as they are—the desire above all else to maintain the present order—has been swept aside in this age. Change, dynamism and rejection of the old have become the new values.

Daniel Bell, Kenneth Boulding, Peter Drucker, Bertram Gross, Norton Long, Frank Manuel, Herbert Marcuse, Michael Marien, Hans Morgenthau, Don Price, Sidney Ratner, Alvin Toffler and Robin Williams, Jr., provide the enlightenment here. They see the Great Society as a transitional state (the latest of several in American history) and they take delight in speculating on the future form of our society. O.E.S.

THE POLITICS OF ACCOMMODATION: PLURALISM AND DEMOCRACY IN THE NETHERLANDS. By Arend Lijphart. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968. 222 pages, \$5.75.)

The question Professor Lijphart poses is why "the social and ideological fragmentation of the Dutch people has not been an insurmountable obstacle to the development and firm persistence of a stable, effective, and legitimate parliamentary democracy." The social structure of the Netherlands is profoundly pluralistic; exclusive class or religious groupings differen-

tiate "blocs" and deeply divide Dutch society. How then does parliamentary democracy succeed?

The answer in this very well written book is: through the "politics of accommodation." There is a basic national consensus that the parliamentary system must be maintained. The nation may be divided socially, but it is not divided against itself on the matter of its constitutional structure, and this sentiment is supported by a strong sense of national loyalty. Practical politics takes place in a spirit of accommodation—the legacy of the constitutional and political struggles between 1878 and 1917. Accommodation involves several factors. There is a businesslike approach to politics despite ideological and social differences; disputes are settled pragmatically. There is toleration for contending points of view. A highly elitist political structure makes compromise easier; leaders of all groups participate in and gain proportional benefits from basic decisions. These habits of accommodation, called *Pacifictie* or peaceful settlement by the Dutch, have kept parliamentary democracy flourishing despite deep social cleavages within Dutch society. All these factors are detailed and analyzed with clarity in this excellent and illuminating book.

George W. Baer
University of California, Santa Cruz

THE FIRST AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO GUINEA. By John H. Morrow. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968. 291 pages and index, \$9.00.)

Our first ambassador to Guinea, John Morrow, a Negro, was noteworthy because he went from college teaching to a sensitive diplomatic assignment, spoke the national language fluently, and behaved with a dignity and directness that served his country well. Dr. Morrow empathized with the desire of the Guineans for independence and development. This brought him into frustrating contact with the relative American indifference of the United States to the complex needs of Africa.

His interesting reminiscences cover an important period of contemporary African history: the emergence of Africa south of the Sahara to independence. Dealing largely with Guinea and its charismatic leader, Sekou Toure; they also touch insightfully on events and personalities in the Congo and Ghana. The successes and shortcomings of Soviet and Chinese efforts to develop influence among the new African nations are analyzed with care, but perhaps too sparsely. The book captures the atmosphere of Guinea, its problems and aspirations, and the outlook of its leaders. It also highlights the need for greater United States efforts to assist the new African nations in realizing their legitimate goals, not out of any frenetic fear of communism, but in fulfillment of our own.

A.Z.R.

THE AMERICANS AND THE FRENCH.

By Crane Brinton. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968. 305 pages, tables, index and reading suggestions, \$6.75.)

Seventeen years after the publication of Donald McKay's volume of the same title in the American Foreign Policy Library, the editor of the series has provided a new book, justified by the vast changes—social, economic and political—which have altered the spirit and the face of France in the 1950's and 1960's.

Professor Brinton's volume fulfills the purpose of the series, to provide "hand-books for current use." An introductory chapter presents the physical aspects of the land. It is followed by chapters in which French politics and Franco-American relations are discussed before and after the Second World War and, again, in the 1960's; the "economic miracle" of the last decade is analyzed; the political transformations and "cultural revolution" of the Fifth Republic are elucidated; its future prospects are considered. Finally, a 20-page appendix provides a mass of very useful "facts about France."

Very personal, easy to read, inevitably too simple for the specialist but informative,

clear and flowing, the book is addressed chiefly to beginning students, tourists who want to reach beyond travel brochures, soldiers and foreign service officers. It can be recommended to all these as a good compact introduction to the land today. Those seeking a more scholarly but equally compact introduction, may turn to John Cairn's *France* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965).

E.W.

THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT. Politics in the Fifth Republic. By Philip M. Williams. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968. 136 pages and index, \$5.75.)

The progressive breakdown of institutions forged in and by nineteenth century men and societies when faced with quite different conditions is a crucial aspect of twentieth century history. The attempts which have been and still are being made to patch up and adapt them are part of twentieth century politics. This elegant and slender (but overpriced) book examines the parliamentary system of the Fifth French Republic in a historical framework. Philip Williams, a well known student of French political institutions, sets present structures and practices against the background of the past so that what was done yesterday illuminates the actions, aspirations and survivals of today. A brilliant introduction provides the context; a judicious summing up assesses achievements and expectations. We see a strong legislative (but seldom legislating) power replaced by a strong executive; the obstructive tendencies of the old assemblies stifled along with their positive capacity to criticize or control; a Milky Way of parliamentary grouplets giving way to factional polarization; the decline of the politicians, the rise of the managers and also that of an irresponsible President whose office has inherited the spectacular aspects in which Parliament once revelled.

Enlightened, clear, compact, precise, here is the best guide to the parliamentary operations of the Fifth Republic. E.W.

AMERICA PAST AND PRESENT: An Interpretation with Readings. Vol. 2. Edited by Vincent De Santis, J. J. Huthmacher and Benjamin Larabee. (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1968. 692 pages, \$5.50.)

Here, in compact and useful form, is an interesting compilation of important speeches and papers. Dating from Lincoln's plan for reconstruction in 1863 through a speech by Senator J. William Fulbright on America's priorities in 1967, these excerpts cover a remarkably wide range of topic and political coloration.

Many of the excerpts are hard to find elsewhere—a television debate between John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon in the 1960 presidential campaign, various attacks on the presidential policies of Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Herbert Hoover and Andrew Johnson. There are attacks on and defenses of laissez faire, trusts, bimetallism, and many facets of American foreign policy. There are excerpts from speeches of Senator Joseph McCarthy attacking Communists, John Foster Dulles defending massive retaliation, and the Supreme Court decision outlawing the separate but equal doctrine in education.

Volume I of this book covers the period from the colonies to the period immediately following the Civil War. Here, too, variety and interest are assured.

O.E.S.

ENGLAND: PREHISTORY TO THE PRESENT. By Arvel B. Erickson and Martin J. Havran. (New York: Praeger, 1968. 608 pages, index, tables and bibliography, \$10.)

It is no easy matter to cover history from the Celts to Harold Wilson in 600 pages without being superficial. Professors Erickson and Havran are so well steeped in their subject and so interested in the people and happenings of English history that they infuse enthusiasm and color into a rapid survey.

This volume will serve several purposes: it will act as a convenient chronology for students; jog the memories of general read-

ers; and be an appetizer for those insufficiently familiar with English history.

The bibliography of suggested reading is unusually well done. O.E.S.

HOW NATIONS BEHAVE: LAW AND FOREIGN POLICY. By Louis Henkin. (New York: Praeger, 1968. 271 pages, notes, bibliography and index, \$7.50.)

Professor Henkin has written a valuable book on a subject that is usually treated in dry-as-dust style. Two-thirds of the book is devoted to a perceptive summary of international law and its limitations, how nations behave and why they behave as they do—the political forces and the influence of law conditioned by such contemporary factors as nuclear weaponry and the United Nations.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book for laymen is the short section devoted to case studies of the Suez crisis, the Eichmann kidnapping and the Cuban missile crisis. Henkin sets forth the applicable rules of international law and details the moves of each country involved. He speculates on the consideration given to law as opposed to national self-interest in each case.

Henkin's conclusions, briefly, may be outlined as follows: history moves from force to diplomacy to law; responsible nations welcome the rule of law, and abide by it where possible; the corpus of international law is able to accommodate new weapons and communications technology; reliance on international law is preferable to reliance on "flexible" diplomacy in the long run. O.E.S.

Erratum: Through a printing error, a line was transposed in the June, 1968, issue. On page 337 the first line in the right column should appear at the end of the last whole paragraph in the left column.

Footnote 2 on that page should read: Marvin A. Kreidberg and Merton G. Henry, *History of Military Mobilization in the United States Army 1775–1945*. Department of the Army Pamphlet No. 20-212 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955), p. 134.

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

A CURRENT HISTORY chronology covering the most important events of June, 1968, to provide a day-by-day summary of world affairs.

INTERNATIONAL

Berlin Crisis

(See also *U.S., Foreign Policy*)

June 11—East Germany announces new restrictions on land travel to and from West Berlin for West German citizens and freight. West Germans traveling through East Germany to Berlin will have to pay a \$2.50 fee to obtain a round-trip visa. An increase in road and barge canal tolls and a transport tax on goods and passenger traffic to West Berlin will be instituted July 1.

June 12—The U.S., Britain and France condemn East Germany's restrictions on Berlin travel. In a joint statement, the 3 allied powers declare that it is the Soviet Union's responsibility to maintain free access to Berlin for West Germans and allied personnel.

June 13—West German Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger flies to West Berlin: he declares that West Germany, along with its Western allies, is prepared to take "serious counter-measures" against the new travel restrictions. Drivers of cars and trucks wait in line 4 and 5 hours to fill in and obtain transit visas. Kiesinger promises that the West German government will assume the burden of the new levies.

June 14—In an editorial in *Neues Deutschland* (East Germany's official Communist party organ), the West German government is warned that "new unpleasant surprises" are planned unless it grants official recognition to East Germany.

June 20—The 3 Western allies and their NATO partners impose curbs on East German travel to Western countries: East German groups of journalists, political figures and parliamentary delegations are

forbidden to enter the West. Other East Germans will pay a \$5 fee for travel documents.

Disarmament

(See *Intl, U.N.; U.S.S.R.*)

European Economic Community (Common Market)

(See *France and U.S. Foreign Policy*)

International Monetary Crisis

June 25—Banking sources in Zurich report that France has sold \$28.6 million worth of gold to defend the franc. (See also *France.*)

The British pound falls to \$2.3829, a new low.

June 28—The Bank of France acts to bolster the franc, which falls to its legal minimum in money markets of 4.9740 francs to the dollar.

Middle East Crisis

June 4—Israeli and Jordanian troops clash along the Jordan River. Israeli jets strike Jordanian long-range guns on the east bank of the river near Irbid.

June 5—Israeli policemen clash with a silent Arab procession commemorating the first anniversary of the Arab-Israeli war. The marchers are mourning the deaths of Jordanian soldiers killed in the war. On the west bank of the Jordan River and in the occupied Gaza Strip, Arab shops and businesses are closed.

The U.N. Security Council meets at the request of Israel and Jordan to investigate continuing hostilities between the 2 nations.

June 8—The Arab Conference for the Boycott of Israel, meeting in Lebanon since May 25, ends its session; a resolution is

approved, allowing agricultural products from the Israeli-occupied west bank of Jordan to enter Arab countries.

June 16—Israel announces a plan to permit Arabs with relatives in the Israeli-occupied west bank area to cross from the east bank and vacation in the west bank's resort area.

The New York Times reports that last week Al Fatah (a Palestinian commando organization) issued a summary listing 49 anti-Israeli operations in May; 37 such operations were reported in April.

June 17—*The New York Times* reports that influential leaders in the Israeli cabinet have agreed on a plan to administer the west bank area of the Jordan River: a string of Israeli paramilitary settlements will be established along the western edge of the river to serve as a security belt. The land west of the security belt will have an autonomous status under Jordan or be an independent entity.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

(See also *Intl, Berlin Crisis*)

June 25—The foreign ministers of NATO countries end a 2-day annual meeting; they issue a communiqué urging resistance to Communist threats to Berlin and the Mediterranean.

United Nations

(See also *Middle East Crisis*)

June 10—By a vote of 92 to 4, with 22 abstentions, the Political Committee of the General Assembly approves the draft treaty to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

June 12—The General Assembly, 95 to 4, with 21 abstentions, votes approval of a resolution endorsing the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson, addressing the Assembly after the vote, declares that the treaty is "the most important international agreement in the field of disarmament since the nuclear age began." (For the text of the treaty, see *Current History*, February and May, 1968).

Voting 96 to 2, the General Assembly

approves a resolution urging the Security Council to act to remove "the South African presence" from South-West Africa. The General Assembly "proclaims that in accordance with the desires of its people, South-West Africa shall henceforth be known as Namibia."

The 22nd session of the General Assembly is adjourned.

June 17—In the Security Council, the U.S., Britain, and the Soviet Union pledge to come to the immediate assistance of a non-nuclear country under threat of nuclear attack. The pledge is designed to encourage nonnuclear nations to sign the nonproliferation treaty.

June 19—By a vote of 10 to 0 (5 members abstain) the 15-member Security Council approves the U.S., British and Soviet security pledge to nonnuclear nations.

June 26—George W. Ball assumes his duties as chief U.S. representative to the U.N.; he replaces Arthur Goldberg.

War in Vietnam

(See also *Vietnam, Republic of*)

June 3—Fighter-bombers, helicopters and tanks are called in to fight Vietcong infiltrators in Cholon, Saigon's Chinese quarter, and on the city's outskirts, where fighting is in its ninth day. Seven high-ranking officials, including Saigon's police chief, are killed and the mayor of Saigon is seriously wounded when a rocket hits a military command post.

June 4—The U.S. mission in Saigon reveals that the explosion which killed Saigon officials was caused by a malfunctioning U.S. rocket.

June 5—At the Paris peace talks, Xuan Thuy, North Vietnam's chief negotiator, demands that the U.S. "unconditionally cease the bombing and all other acts of war" against North Vietnam.

June 7—Vietcong forces attack central Saigon with rifles: a large hospital, a Roman Catholic Church and the compound of the International Control Commission are hit.

June 11—General William C. Westmoreland

leaves his post as U.S. commander in Vietnam to become army chief of staff. Yesterday, Westmoreland declared that a classic military victory in Vietnam is impossible because of U.S. policy limiting the expansion of the war. General Creighton W. Abrams becomes U.S. commander in Vietnam.

June 12—Vietcong rockets bombard the Tansonnhut airbase in Saigon. During 24 of the last 39 days, the Vietcong have attacked Saigon with rockets.

At the Paris peace talks, chief U.S. negotiator W. Averell Harriman protests Vietcong attacks against Saigon.

June 16—The Vietcong sink a U.S. Navy patrol boat in waters near the demilitarized zone.

June 17—The U.S. command in Saigon says that North Vietnamese helicopters may have entered the war for the first time: unidentified aircraft have been picked up by radar near the eastern end of the demilitarized zone during the past 2 nights.

June 26—The U.S. and North Vietnamese delegates hold their tenth negotiating session since May 13; each side declares that no progress has been achieved.

June 27—The U.S. command in South Vietnam announces that U.S. Marines are withdrawing from Khesanh, a base near the demilitarized zone, partly because of enemy pressures.

ARGENTINA

June 1—Police clash with students in Buenos Aires, La Plata, Rosario and Tucuman.

June 12—Students are driven out of the main building of the University of La Plata by riot policemen using tear gas. The building was seized by 400 students protesting the refusal of the rector to allow students to mark the 50th anniversary of the student reform movement which began with a rebellion at the University of Córdoba on June 15, 1918.

June 22—It is reported that the Argentine Navy has taken 2 Soviet fishing vessels in tow for allegedly violating the nation's 200-mile limit.

June 24—The Argentine Navy issues a statement disclosing that the Soviet fishing vessel *Golfstrim*, which was seized on June 21 by an Argentine gunboat, was damaged by shellfire when it tried to evade an Argentine escort ship.

BELGIUM

June 12—Gaston Eyskens, an economist, is named Premier of a coalition government, ending a 4-month hiatus.

June 17—Premier Eyskens names 28 men to a coalition cabinet, the largest cabinet in Belgium's history. Several duplicate posts have been established to handle the problems of Flemish-speaking Flanders and French-speaking Wallonia. The 28 posts are equally divided between Flemings and Walloons.

BRAZIL

June 5—Students at the Federal University in Rio de Janeiro strike in protest against the government's educational policy, budget cuts and delays in paying the professors.

June 20—General Sisenio Sarmento, commander of the First Army based in Rio de Janeiro, issues a statement declaring that the military will keep order "even if measures restricting individual liberty have to be applied." The statement follows a clash between police and student demonstrators yesterday; 80 demonstrators were arrested; 20 more were treated at hospitals.

June 21—In the third consecutive day of student disorders, students stone the U.S. embassy and fight the police. Three persons, including a policeman, are killed.

June 26—Some 10,000 students demonstrate to bring down the government of President Artur da Costa e Silva. No serious incidents are reported.

CANADA

June 25—The Liberal party, under Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, wins a decisive majority in federal elections.

COLOMBIA

June 7—President Carlos Lleras Restrepo announces that he plans to resign on June 11. His announcement comes shortly after the Senate rejects his reform bill providing for proportional representation of all political parties in the Cabinet.

June 8—To demonstrate their support for President Lleras Restrepo, the Cabinet, 22 governors and other high government officials announce their resignations.

June 12—By a vote of 74 to 31, the Senate refuses to accept President Lleras Restrepo's resignation. The vote of confidence keeps the President and his Cabinet in office.

COSTA RICA

June 7—It is reported that former President José Figueres has announced that he plans to seek the presidency in 1970 as a candidate of the National Liberation party which he helped found. Rodrigo Carazo, chairman of the Legislative Assembly's Committee on Economic Affairs, will also be a contender for the nomination at the party's convention in the spring of 1969.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

June 4—Soviet tanks join military training exercises in Czechoslovakia. Defense ministry spokesmen say Soviet and Polish troops will not remain permanently in Czechoslovakia.

June 9—A Czech economic mission leaves for Moscow to discuss Czech economic needs and to solicit Soviet cooperation in economic reforms.

June 12—Liberalized travel laws for Czech citizens are proposed to the National Assembly.

Premier Oldrich Cernik expresses hopes that members of the European Common Market will establish relations with Czechoslovakia based on "equal partnership."

June 18—Marshal Ivan I. Yakubovsky, Soviet commander of the Warsaw Pact forces, assures the Czech people that current military maneuvers are limited and will involve only command staffs.

June 26—The National Assembly votes overwhelmingly to abolish press censorship.

DAHOMY

June 28—A communiqué is issued announcing that the ruling Military Revolutionary Committee, the Armed Forces High Command and the Cabinet at a joint meeting decided to invite Foreign Minister Emile Derlin Zinsou to become president and form the first civilian government in over 2 years.

ECUADOR

June 2—Ecuador holds her first direct national election in 8 years uneventfully. Three former Presidents are the leading candidates: José Maria Velasco Ibarra, Andrés Fernando Córdova Nieto and Camilio Ponce Enriquez.

June 3—Election results indicate that José Maria Velasco Ibarra, who has been President of Ecuador 4 times in the last 34 years, has won a fifth term.

June 4—Velasco Ibarra says his Cabinet will be open to elements of any political group as long as they support his program of social justice and national progress. He takes office September 16, 1968.

FRANCE

(See also *France, Current History*, July, 1968, page 57.)

June 3—Premier Georges Pompidou urges workers to return to their jobs. He says the election is to be "for or against totalitarian communism."

June 4—The finance ministry borrows \$745 million from the International Monetary Fund to protect the French franc. (See also *Intl, Monetary Crisis*).

The nationwide strike continues into its 17th day.

June 5—The new Minister of Economy and Finance, Maurice Couve de Murville, assures the European Common Market that France will honor the July 1 deadline for the abolition of tariffs.

June 7—Thousands of Renault workers battle

riot police in the first violence of the general strike.

June 8—Bread prices rise by 10 per cent.

Former Premier Georges Bidault returns from six years of exile in Belgium and Brazil following an amnesty granted by Président Charles de Gaulle.

June 11—One striker is killed and another is injured by police in a battle at an automobile factory. Street fighting flares throughout Paris.

June 15—Former General Raoul Salan and 13 other exiled members of the Secret Army Organization are pardoned by de Gaulle and permitted to return to France. The amnesty measure is part of a Gaullist effort to secure right-wing support in the coming election on June 23.

June 16—Paris police storm the Sorbonne and drive out student revolutionaries, ending an occupation of more than 7 weeks.

June 23—National election returns give the Gaullist party about 46 per cent of the vote and control of the National Assembly.

June 26—The Government takes a number of steps to strengthen the economy. Price controls are begun; exports are subsidized; temporary import quotas are imposed on cars, steel, textiles and household appliances, effective July 1, 1968.

June 27—Foreign Minister Michel Debré says U.S. retaliation against French trade measures would be discriminatory. (See also *U.S. Foreign Policy*.)

June 30—Pro-Gaullists capture 355 seats in run-off elections for the National Assembly. De Gaulle's Union for the Defense of the Republic wins 291 of the 486 seats. The Communists win 33 seats, 40 fewer than previously held.

GERMANY, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (East)

(See also *Intl, Berlin Crisis*)

June 11—The East German government announces imposition of travel curbs for West Germans traveling to West Berlin.

GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (West)

June 12—West Berlin Mayor Klaus Schutz

blames East German travel bans on the Soviet government. He appeals to Great Britain, France and the U.S. to safeguard freedom of access for the city: (See also *Intl, Berlin; U.S., Foreign Policy*.)

June 18—Foreign Minister Willy Brandt crosses into East Germany to discuss the ban on travel to West Berlin with Soviet authorities.

GREECE

June 1—The Greek military government releases 53 prisoners held on the islands of Leros and Yiaros. Some 2,400 political prisoners still remain on the islands.

June 12—A new constitution to be voted on in a plebiscite next September is hailed by the military government as "one of the most democratic and progressive" in Europe.

June 17—Deputy Premier Stylianos Patakos says that there will be no early elections for Parliament.

June 20—Premier George Papadopoulos makes a number of cabinet changes, replacing 9 of the 25 ministers. Several new undersecretaries are also added. Most new appointees are civilians.

GUATEMALA

June 6—Officials investigating the clash between the army and guerrillas on May 11 in the village of Taxarte in the state of Zacapa disclose they now believe 1 of the 6 guerrillas killed in the clash was César Montes, leader of the Rebel Armed Forces.

June 20—A state of siege, in effect since March 18, is lifted and constitutional rights, which have been suspended since January, are restored. The Government's action reflects a drop in terrorist activity.

HAITI

June 21—Oswald Brandt, an elderly British millionaire, and his son, Clifford, deny before a military tribunal they had anything to do with the unsuccessful invasion of Haiti and the attempt to overthrow President François Duvalier. The senior Brandt, who was born in Jamaica, is Jamaica's

Consul in Haiti; his son is Jamaica's Vice Consul. Both men are charged with having financed the unsuccessful invasion attempt by exiles on May 20.

June 22—Charles Sanderson, First Secretary of the British High Commission in Kingston, Jamaica, says he will be permitted tomorrow to see David Knox, the British Director of Information for the Bahamas. Knox is being held on the charge of entering Haiti with a false passport.

HUNGARY

June 13—Leaders of Hungary's Communist party, headed by Janos Kadar, greet visiting Czech delegates led by Communist party leader Alexander Dubcek and Premier Oldrich Cernik.

INDIA

June 7—Fighting breaks out between government troops and Naga tribesmen in Kohima, capital of Nagaland. Chinese Communist support for the Nagas is reported.

June 9—Government forces attack a Naga guerrilla base, killing and capturing a number of rebels. Chinese mortars and machine guns are found.

June 11—Troops are called out to put down riots between Hindus and Muslims in Nagpur.

INDONESIA

June 6—President Suharto reshuffles his cabinet, dropping 5 generals and 3 civilians and bringing in 8 civilian experts who can help strengthen the economy.

ISRAEL

June 23—Excavation begins on a new oil pipeline to run from Elath on the Gulf of Aqaba across the Negev desert to the port of Ascalon on the Mediterranean Sea.

ITALY

June 3—Rome police break up fights between extremist students occupying Rome University and moderate students demanding a return to normal conditions.

June 4—Workers and students riot in Turin, Genoa and Lanciano.

June 5—The Cabinet, led by Premier Aldo Moro, resigns after 4½ years in office.

June 10—Mariano Rumor, secretary of the Christian Democratic party, is asked by President Giuseppe Saragat to form a new government.

June 12—Mariano Rumor gives up his attempt to form a new government.

June 24—Premier-designate Giovanni Leone (a Christian Democrat) announces the formation of a new Cabinet oriented to the center-right.

JAPAN

June 13—Premier Eisaku Sato opens a national election campaign by defending Japanese ties with the U.S.

June 26—The island of Iwo Jima is returned to Japan by the U.S. 23 years after its capture by U.S. Marines during World War II.

LEBANON

June 1—Beirut is placed under martial law after yesterday's shooting of President Camille Chamoun by an assassin. Chamoun's condition is reported good after surgery for bullets in the jaw and arm.

June 15—President Chamoun leaves the hospital.

MALAYSIA

June 11—A 5-nation conference on the defense of Malaysia and Singapore draws pledges of continuing defense support from Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain. Great Britain's withdrawal from the area in 1971 will not end her role in collective security.

NIGERIA

June 8—Continuous fighting around the Port Harcourt area causes heavy casualties to federal and Biafran troops.

June 19—It is reported that tons of food and drugs are being distributed in areas of Nigeria that are suffering from the civil war. The Red Cross is supervising distribution.

June 22—Distribution of emergency food is being delayed in Biafra as investigators

check charges of possible poisoning. Some poisoned food has already been reported.

PAKISTAN

June 6—Foreign Minister Arshad Husain announces that Pakistan is gradually withdrawing from the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and is no longer taking part in the military activities of the pact.

June 8—Finance Minister N. M. Uqaili sets Pakistani defense spending in the next fiscal year at \$500 million, an increase of \$50 million above this year.

SENEGAL

June 1—The information ministry announces the arrest of leaders of the National Workers Union. 900 rioters are arrested following disturbances by students and workers.

June 4—A cabinet reshuffle is announced by President Leopold Sedar Senghor after strikes and demonstrations by students and workers. A general economic slump is responsible for the unrest.

June 9—All arrested students and workers are released. Government and labor representatives plan conferences on wage increases and price controls.

SPAIN

June 22—The Government announces that it has reached an agreement with Spanish Guinean representatives on a draft constitution for the colony. A referendum is to be held in the summer of 1968, and full independence for the colony is expected in the fall of 1968.

THAILAND

June 22—King Phumiphol Adulet presents the Thai people with a constitution after 10 years of military rule. The constitution will provide the people with some measure of democracy. Elections for members of the Assembly will be held in 8 months.

TRINIDAD

June 25—Election results show that Prime Minister Eric Williams has retained control of the government; his People's Na-

tional Movement won 68 of 100 vacant seats in local government elections yesterday (the first in 9 years).

TURKEY

June 2—Local elections draw a large turnout in a test of strength between the pro-American Justice party and the opposition.

June 8—The ruling Justice party registers minor gains to win a slim majority in the national government.

U.S.S.R.

June 3—Talks open in Moscow on a new 2-year pact to regulate exchanges of scientific, cultural, technological and educational personnel between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.

June 12—*Izvestia*, the official government newspaper, chides U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson for his speech appealing for U.S.-Soviet cooperation in economic development and science. The paper declares that relations will remain "frozen" until the Vietnamese War is ended.

June 27—Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko tells the Supreme Soviet that the U.S.S.R. is willing to start talks on missile curbs with the U.S., including limiting the deployment of antimissile defense systems.

June 30—An American transport plane carrying troops to Vietnam, after reportedly straying off course, is forced to land by Soviet fighter planes on a Soviet island in the Kuriles north of Japan.

UNITED KINGDOM

June 17—By a vote of 319 to 246, the House of Commons tightens sanctions against Rhodesia.

June 18—The House of Lords votes against Rhodesian sanctions, 193 to 184. The Government has threatened to deprive the Peers of their remaining powers if they vote against the measure.

June 20—Prime Minister Harold Wilson condemns the vote of the House of Lords and announces he will reform the upper house.

June 26—The Commons defeats a vote to eliminate the House of Lords.

UNITED STATES

Agriculture

June 3—The Department of Agriculture reveals that the federal government is going to operate food-donation programs in 42 counties that have been unwilling to participate; this means that the thousand lowest-income counties in the nation will all be included in food-stamp or food-distribution programs.

June 12—Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman advocates a \$100-million increase of funds for the food-stamp program, in a statement to the House Agriculture Committee explaining that he has developed a deep awareness of poverty in the U.S.

Civil Rights

June 2—Civil rights leader Bayard Rustin calls for "national mobilization" in Washington, D.C., on June 19, in support of the Poor People's Campaign.

June 7—Rustin resigns as national coordinator of the June 19 Solidarity Day march because its objectives are unclear.

June 8—Attorney General Ramsey Clark announces the arrest in London of James Earl Ray, alleged assassin of Martin Luther King.

June 13—Ralph David Abernathy, successor to Martin Luther King as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and leader of the Poor People's Campaign, says that reducing the price of food stamps does not help a hungry man without money. (See also *Agriculture*.)

June 19—In Washington, D.C., over 50,000 persons participate in the "Solidarity Day" march of the Poor People's Campaign.

June 24—Resurrection City, headquarters and campsite for the Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C., is closed by police as its camping permit expires. Ralph David Abernathy and some 300 demonstrators are arrested.

Federal troops and National Guardsmen are sent to keep order in Washington as rioting starts in the city's midtown Negro section.

June 25—Abernathy is sentenced to 20 days in jail for taking part in an unlawful demonstration at the foot of Capitol Hill. Special police precautions in Washington, D.C., are lifted and National Guardsmen are put on "standby" status.

The Economy

June 7—An increase in stock margins from 70 per cent to 80 per cent is ordered by the Federal Reserve Board, to restrict the use of credit in the stock market. The down payment for stock purchase is now 80 per cent of the price of the stock.

June 28—The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the Consumer Price Index rose in May by 0.3 per cent.

Foreign Policy

June 4—President Lyndon B. Johnson, giving the valedictory address at Glassboro State College, defends his Vietnam policy, offers advice on the Middle East crisis, condemns isolationism and proposes more collaboration with the U.S.S.R.

President Johnson signs a bill authorizing a U.S. contribution of \$412 million in the planned increase of \$1 billion in the ordinary capital of the Inter-American Development Bank.

June 7—In a letter to U.A.R. President Gamal Abdel Nasser, disclosed today, President Johnson says he is pleased by Nasser's indicated willingness to cooperate with special U.N. envoy to the Middle East Gunnar V. Jarring.

June 9—It is revealed in Ankara that the U.S. will turn over Site 23, an advanced \$20-million communications center in Turkey, to Turkey on June 14.

June 13—Overriding minority opposition, 62 to 21, the Senate approves a new international grain arrangement, raising the price of exported U.S. wheat to the new world minimum.

June 14—Diplomatic channels in Washington reveal that West Germany has agreed to pay some \$785 million to cover the cost of keeping U.S. troops and their dependents in West Germany.

June 16—Diplomatic sources in Washington report that the U.S. has offered to release more than \$5 million in blocked social security and other government annuity payments to residents of Czechoslovakia formerly living in the U.S., in an attempt to improve relations with the Czech government. The heart of the impasse is the U.S. refusal to return \$20 million in Czech gold bullion seized by the Allies at the close of World War II, unless Czechoslovakia makes compensation for American property nationalized by the Communists in 1948.

June 17—The President pledges support for West Berlin against East Germany's "totally unprovoked and unjustified" measures to restrict traffic to that city. (See also *Intl, Berlin Crisis* and *East Germany*.)

June 26—William M. Roth, the President's special representative for trade negotiations, announces that the U.S. will impose special duties on French imports, because of the French plan to subsidize exports and curb imports. (See also *France*.)

Secretary of State Dean Rusk, in Bonn, pledges that the U.S. and its allies will protect West Berlin's freedom.

Government

June 5—The President names a 10-member Commission on Violence to examine the roots of violence in the U.S., after New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy is fatally wounded by an assassin in Los Angeles, California. (See also *Politics*.)

June 6—Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Wilbur Cohen announces the appointment of Dr. Herbert L. Ley, Jr., to succeed Dr. James L. Goddard as Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration.

Charging "maladministration," Director of the Voice of America John Charles Daly resigns his post because of alleged "executive undercutting" by United States Information Agency Director Leonard H. Marks.

June 11—Under legislation that becomes effective at midnight, employers of more than

25 persons are forbidden to discharge or refuse to hire an individual between 40 and 65 years of age solely because of his age. The law was passed in December, 1967.

June 12—Postmaster General W. Marvin Watson says that the Post Office Department will refuse to deliver firearms sent through the mail until local law enforcement officers have been informed by local postmasters of the identity of the recipient; such shipments must henceforth be clearly labeled "firearms." Watson also classifies sawed-off shotguns and short-barrel rifles as "concealable" weapons, in effect barring them from the mails unless they are mailed to law enforcement officials and other authorized recipients.

June 14—The Internal Revenue Service declares that the National Rifle Association, which lobbies against gun control legislation, is classified as a "social welfare organization" and is tax exempt.

A federal district court finds Dr. Benjamin Spock and Yale chaplain William Sloane Coffin, with 2 others, guilty of conspiracy to counsel evasion of the draft.

June 15—President Johnson urges state and local support for uniform gun control legislation.

June 19—The President signs the omnibus crime bill, noting that it contains "more good than bad." The new law authorizes massive federal grants to improve local law enforcement. The President protests the law's permission to state and local law enforcement officers to tap telephones and indulge in other forms of eavesdropping. Controls on the sale of handguns are regarded as "halfway measures" by the President.

June 21—Voting 64 to 16, the Senate completes final action on the 10 per cent tax surcharge on individual and corporate incomes, retroactive for individuals April 1 and for corporations January 1, 1968, and effective 15 days after the bill is signed. The new law requires the government to reduce its proposed spending by \$6 billion in the 1969 fiscal year.

June 24—President Johnson asks Congress

to enact legislation requiring the registration of all firearms, and the licensing of owners.

June 27—The President suggests a 26th Amendment to lower the voting age to 18. In 46 states, the voting age is 21. The amendment would extend the voting privilege to over 10 million young Americans.

June 28—President Johnson signs the tax surcharge bill.

Labor

June 1—Contract agreements with all 5 major aluminum companies are reached by the United Steelworkers of America; the new agreements provide an average increase of 55.9 cents an hour over a 3-year period for about half the nation's aluminum workers. Members of the Aluminum Workers International Union strike against 2 major companies, the Aluminum Company of America and the Reynolds Metals Company.

Alcoa Aluminum (Aluminum Company of America) announces a price increase of one cent a pound on unalloyed primary aluminum ingot and of 4 per cent on certain alloy ingots and most fabricated products.

June 2—The New Jersey Bell Telephone Company and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers end a 49-day strike when they sign a 3-year contract.

June 14—I. W. Abel is elected to succeed United Automobile Workers' President Walter Reuther as head of the Industrial Union Department of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

June 28—At midnight the National Maritime Union stages a nationwide walkout.

Military

June 5—The Navy notifies relatives of the 99 crewmen of the submarine *Scorpion* that the ship is "presumed lost" and the crew is presumed dead. The submarine has been missing since May 21.

June 11—It is made public in Washington, D.C., that the Administration has acted to protect espionage ships operating in potentially dangerous waters.

June 21—Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor announces that the Army will give

support from now on only to civilian marksmanship clubs whose members still face military service. Sales of ammunition will be restricted to limited quantities of .22 caliber; no pistols will be sold; only excess rifles specially designed for competitive marksmanship will be offered for sale. (See also *Government*.)

Politics

June 2—The Republican Coordinating Committee charges that riots have been encouraged by the Johnson administration because it has made political promises it could not keep.

June 4—New York Senator Robert Kennedy is shot and critically wounded in Los Angeles as his victory in the California presidential primary election is being tabulated.

Robert Kennedy wins over Vice-President Hubert Humphrey and Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy in the South Dakota primary election.

Michigan Representative Gerald F. Ford is named permanent chairman of the Republican national convention; the temporary chairman is Massachusetts Senator Edward W. Brooke; Washington's Governor Dan J. Evans will be the keynote speaker.

An uncommitted slate led by New Jersey Governor Richard J. Hughes has reportedly won 65 of the state's 80 delegates to the Democratic national convention.

June 5—With 97 per cent of the returns in, Kennedy has won 46 per cent of the vote in the California Democratic primary. Senator McCarthy won 42 per cent and a third uncommitted slate reportedly favoring Humphrey won 12 per cent.

June 6—Robert Kennedy dies at the age of 42 after unsuccessful surgery to remove a bullet from his brain.

June 7—Sirhan Bishara Sirhan, a Jerusalem-born Jordanian, is indicted for the murder of Robert Kennedy.

June 19—McCarthy wins a majority of the delegate slates in the New York Democratic primary.

Humphrey says that if he wins the presi-

dency, his administration will have "its own program, its own nuances, its own sense of direction. . . ."

June 21—In a 2-hour interview with editors of *The New York Times*, Humphrey calls for an immediate cease-fire in Vietnam.

June 22—At the Connecticut state Democratic convention, more than 200 McCarthy supporters leave the convention after being refused 10 of the 44 delegates to the national convention.

June 29—Ten of Oklahoma's 41 delegates are given to McCarthy by Humphrey backers in the Oklahoma Democratic state convention.

Supreme Court

June 3—The Supreme Court rules unanimously that public school teachers may not be fired for criticizing school officials if they offer the criticism in good faith, even if some of the charges are untrue.

The Court rules that in capital cases, individuals holding general conscientious scruples against capital punishment may not be barred from juries; if such persons have been barred from a jury, its sentence of death is invalid. The decision is retroactive.

June 10—The Court rules unanimously that public employees cannot be dismissed for refusing to sign waivers of immunity from prosecution before testifying to a grand jury. Requiring such employees to waive the privilege against self-incrimination is a denial of constitutional rights.

The Court rules 6 to 2 that state employees of schools, hospitals and related institutions are entitled to minimum wage and overtime provisions of federal law.

The Court rules 6 to 3 that a 1965 New York state law requiring public schools to lend textbooks to private and parochial school students is constitutional.

The Court, in 2 opinions written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, rules that policemen have the right to stop suspicious-looking individuals and search them for weapons if "a reasonably prudent man in the circumstances would be warranted in the

belief that his safety or that of others was in danger."

In a 7-0 decision, the Court rules that the Federal Communications Commission has the power to regulate community antenna television systems, or CATV.

June 17—The Court rules unanimously that welfare benefits for dependent children cannot be refused by a state because the mothers of such children "cohabit" in or outside their homes with any single or able-bodied married men. In 19 states and the District of Columbia, federal aid has been denied to some 500,000 children because of various "substitute father" rules.

The Court rules 5 to 1 that community antenna television systems which pick up copyrighted programs from the air and distribute them by cable to their subscribers are not infringing copyrights.

In a 7-2 decision, the Court rules that a civil rights law of 1866 prohibits racial discrimination in all sales and rentals of property, including property transactions by private owners which are not covered in the fair housing provisions of the 1968 civil rights law. Rentals in units containing fewer than 5 families, excluded from the 1968 law, are also covered in the 1866 law.

The Court rules 5 to 4 that jailing chronic alcoholics for drunkenness in public is not a violation of their constitutional rights.

The Court rules 6 to 3 that if police obtain evidence by eavesdropping on party-line telephones, such evidence may not be used in state courts to convict an individual.

June 21—It is revealed in Washington that Chief Justice Earl Warren has resigned from the Supreme Court at the age of 77, after 15 years as Chief Justice.

June 26—President Johnson names Associate Justice Abe Fortas as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, succeeding retiring Earl Warren. He names Judge Homer Thornberry, a former Texas congressman, to fill Fortas' seat on the Court. Both nominations must be confirmed by the Senate.

URUGUAY

June 13—The Government decrees limited martial law to cope with strikes by civil servants and spreading student unrest.

June 18—Thousands of workers obey a national strike call by the National Workers' Convention to protest the security measures imposed by the Government on June 13.

VATICAN

June 30—Pope Paul VI delivers a new credo affirming Papal infallibility.

VENEZUELA

June 9—Guerrillas ambush an army convoy in the coastal state of Falcon, killing 5 soldiers and wounding 11.

June 18—Foreign Minister Ignacio Iribarrén Borges announces that Venezuela has released the Soviet tug seized June 14 for violating Venezuelan waters following an apology from the Soviet government.

VIETNAM, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (North)

June 24—A North Vietnamese delegation arrives in the U.S.S.R. for aid talks.

VIETNAM, REPUBLIC OF (South)

June 8—Colonel Tran Van Hai becomes national police chief; he replaces Major General Nguyen Ngoc Loan who was a close friend of Vice-President Nguyen Cao Ky. It is also reported that the mayor of Saigon, Colonel Van Van Cua, has been succeeded by Colonel Do Kien Nhieu. The appointments of Nhieu and Hai are regarded as steps by President Nguyen Van Thieu to consolidate his power.

June 12—Ky resigns as head of South Vietnam's People's Self-Defense Committee.

June 14—Premier Tran Van Huong announces that he has accepted the Cabinet's recommendation, made at a meeting yesterday, that Phan Quang Dan, minister of state, be ousted from the Cabinet. On a lecture tour of the U.S., Dr. Dan stated last week that the South Vietnamese gov-

ernment should talk directly with the Vietcong.

June 15—The South Vietnamese parliament approves the first general mobilization law drafting all men 18 to 43 years of age; 200,000 men will be drafted by Dec. 31, 1968.

June 17—In the student newspaper *Sinh Viet*, the Saigon University Student Union, representing 25,000 students, condemns the war and urges a negotiated settlement.

Speaking on national television, Vice-President Ky tells the people to support the national government and avoid any coups d'état.

June 26—In the South Vietnamese House of Representatives, member after member denounces American handling of the war and the Paris peace talks; they demand that the U.S. consult more closely with the South Vietnamese government.

June 29—Premier Tran Van Huong, in an interview, declares that he plans to oust 50 to 100 district chiefs within the next month in an attack on corruption.

YUGOSLAVIA

June 4—Public demonstrations, meetings and parades are banned in Belgrade because of the two-day-old student uprising.

June 5—Rejecting official concessions, students at Belgrade University vote to continue their sit-in; the students have renamed the university "Karl Marx Red University."

June 9—Speaking on television and radio, President Tito asks students to end their revolt and to work with him in solving student problems.

June 10—Indian President Zakir Husain arrives in Belgrade for a 5-day state visit.

June 11—Classes resume at Belgrade University as students heed President Tito's call to return, following his promise to relieve student problems.

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